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THE

WORKS

OF

TACITUS.

WITH

POLITICAL DISCOURSES

UPON THAT

AUTHOR,

BY

THOMAS GORDON, Esq;

The THIRD EDITION corrected.

VOL. III.

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TO HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS,

FREDERIC

Prince of WALES.

SIR,

IN presuming to lay the following Work before Your Royal Highness, I am encouraged by the dignity of the subject, by the great name of Tacitus, and by the sincerity of my own heart, conscious of honest and loyal intentions, and sincerely attached to the interest of Your Illustrious Family, as well

as unfeignedly devoted to that of Your Perſon. But what gives me higher aſſurance, is a perſuaſion, that no attempt to ſerve and vindicate the cauſe of Liberty can fail of being countenanced by Your Royal Highneſs. Such countenance is worthy of a Prince of the Houſe of Hanover, worthy of an Heir Apparent to the Britiſh Crown. Since this Cauſe is the noble foundation of Your Royal Father's Government, as we firmly hope it will be the glory of Yours, and as it is indeed the genuine glory of all Princes, glory ariſing from a true, a god-like ſource, even the well-being of Society and the general good of man. It is what all good and wiſe Princes will purſue as the ſureſt bulwark of their Throne, as the brighteſt ornament in their Crown, and the beſt warrant for future praiſe.

Indeed ever ſuitable to the ſpirit and reign of a Prince will be his fame when he ceaſes to reign. After his death, men will uſe him as he in his life-time uſed them, with reſentment or applauſe, with honour

honour or reproach. A living Prince who is hated may be flattered, perhaps the more flattered for being hated, as flattery is often no more than a diſguiſe for averſion, at leaſt for the want of affection; and, the groſſer it is, the more it anſwers the end. Nay, every Prince in the world would ſurely abhor all flatterers, if he conſidered that whoever flatters him muſt needs alſo contemn him: Since it can never be ſuppoſed, that any would venture to miſlead him by vile arts to gain ſelfiſh ends, unleſs they entertained withal a very mean opinion of his underſtanding. But when death, which flatters no man, has bereft him of his power and luſtre, when he is laid low, and can no longer terrify or prefer, flattery which only followed his fortune, and ſtudied to deceive him for intereſt, will, like all falſe friends, deſert his memory. Then, though perhaps he was never told that he had any faults (whereas from ſome no man was ever exempt) a thouſand will probably be objected to him, perhaps with many invidious aggravations. Even they who

had fed him with conſtant incenſe, and long blinded him with the ſmoke of it, inſtead of now vindicating one whom ſo lately they adored, will perhaps join in the cry againſt him, and be foremoſt in upbraiding him with errors which they would never ſuffer him to ſee, probably cauſed him to commit.

Such, Sir, is the experience to be learned from Hiſtory, ſuch the uſeful leſſons which it affords to Princes. They will there ſee that, where fear or intereſt governs the hearts of men, guile will be apt to guide their tongues, and that, as it is in the power of Princes to hurt or oblige numbers, there will always be numbers ready to deceive them; and they can hope to hear plain truth but from very few; that there have been ſome, indeed too many, who ſeem never to have heard any truth at all, at leaſt, where it was of any importance to their duty and government, though it ſo nearly concerned them; becauſe from their hearing or not hearing it, infinite good or infinite evil was to redound to their people,

people, as well as to their own quiet and fame.

Hence Hiſtory is to be carefully conſulted as a faithful Monitor, upon which nor awe nor hopes have any influence; a Monitor which nakedly repreſents the actions of Princes and the reſult of thoſe actions, what meaſures tended to their credit and eaſe, what to their anguiſh and diſhonour; how liable they are to be deceived, how readily abandoned by deceivers; how ſeveral very good men proved very bad Princes, by being miſled by evil ſervants, ſuch as carefully deprived them of the counſel and aſſiſtance of the beſt; and how differently men ſpeak of Princes and to Princes, how differently of the living and of the dead. And hence may be ſeen the apparent, the precious value of truth, how many have been undone for want of hearing it, how many might have proſpered better had they known it.

From Hiſtory a Prince will diſcern, that a Country well governed does well

reward and ſecure its Governor, but that by evil Government he is precluded from all tranquillity here, and from any honourable name hereafter: That whatever deſtroys his people is deſtructive to himſelf, for they are his glory and ſtrength. So that in taking an affectionate care of his people he does but fortify his Throne, of which they are the beſt guards; does but procure his own eaſe and ſtability, and purchaſe an excellent and unperiſhing name.

It will be there learned that he may indeed find men to ſerve him even where his commands are unjuſt; but, beſides that ſervices which are diſliked are ſeldom chearfully performed, they who perform them will firſt or laſt, to excuſe themſelves, throw all the blame and ſcandal upon him. He will find that of juſt commands only no Prince has any cauſe to be aſhamed; and that all honeſt ſervices every honeſt man will be forward to execute, all men ready to juſtify: That between the intereſt of a Prince who acts juſtly, and the intereſt of his people,

people, there can never be any competition or disagreement: That whatever he gains from them unjustly, will yield him bitter fruits; that though many will be ready to humour him at all adventures, none are fit, none worthy to serve him, but such as in serving him study also the happiness of his subjects; that to exhaust or oppress them, to vitiate and debase them, can never be for his interest, nor such as do it for him or advise him to do it, his real friends: That whatever measures of his injure the Public, must be injurious to him, and that nothing which is unjust can bring him any real advantage.

He will see that, in the nature and ordinary course of things, evil counsels are followed by painful consequences, and that no pursuits whatever which are not worthy and upright, can secure rest and comfort to the human soul: That the most successful conquerors, the most fortunate wicked men, have by their wicked counsels been bereft of all calmness and internal felicity (for, other than

internal there is none) and lived under perpetual inſecurity, or perpetual ſtruggles and anxiety: That the great, the able and accompliſhed Cæſar was often preſſed by diſtreſs and deſpair, ready to fly his Country, threatened with being tried and condemned as a Public Criminal, ready to fall upon his own ſword; and that after a reſtleſs life, full of hurry and perplexity, full of fears and cares, he periſhed juſt as he had eſtabliſhed his Tyranny, though with it he could not eſtabliſh his own happineſs: That whoever makes numbers unhappy and diſcontented, cannot expect to be eaſy and happy himſelf: That happy, truly happy, is he who does good to all men, who cauſes whole Nations to rejoice and to bleſs him: That had Cæſar, in order to preſerve and ſecure Public Liberty, done what he did to deſtroy it, had he for this glorious end exerted the ſame induſtry and admirable talents, what an amiable character he had been, in what ſecurity he might have lived! or that he had certainly died in renown, however he had died.

Hiſtory

Hiſtory will ſhew, that the moſt powerful Princes in the world grow inſecure as ſoon as they grow oppreſſive; when ſo great a Monarch as John Baſilowitz of Muſcovy, he who held States ſo vaſt in extent, and authority without bounds, could negotiate as he did, with the Embaſſador of our greater Queen Elizabeth (greater becauſe beloved, and obſerving the Laws) for a retreat and protection in England under an apprehenſion of being expelled from his own Kingdom; a fate which he daily dreaded, though he had many flatterers who applauded all his oppreſſions and errors, eſpecially his extreme bigotry to Saints and Maſſes: That thus inſecure, thus miſerable and fearful did the rigor of his Government and overmuch Power render him; and in ſuch ſafety and credit did that excellent Queen reign, becauſe her Throne was eſtabliſhed in Liberty and Righteouſneſs. She might have ſaid with the renowned Emperor Cyrus, that ſhe could not conceive how a Prince could fail of being beloved, if he ſeriouſly endeavoured to be ſo.

As in History a Prince will see cause for not distrusting his faithful servants, since from overmuch diffidence, as well as from overmuch confidence, he may alike hurt himself; he will likewise perceive the necessity of inspecting his own affairs, and of not trusting blindly to others: He will see what a mean figure such Princes made, who lazily transferred their great office to Favourites, will see their uneasy and unfortunate reigns. From hence he will make the same observation which Schah Abbas the Emperor of Persia made to a creature of his, who told him, that he degraded the Royal Majesty by being seen too much by his people. "No, said that able "Prince: It is owing to the tricks and "frauds of Flatterers, that a Prince is "shut up in solitude, whence they them-"selves may have the more scope to ty-"rannize in his name. He who would "truly reign, must see all, and direct all." He will find cause for giving up guilty Ministers to the just complaints of his subjects, and for supporting the innocent

cent againſt all the clamours of faction, ſince the beſt may be traduced, and the bad, to ſave themſelves, may ruin him.

He will there learn, that all the doings of a Prince, however ſtudiouſly concealed, are in danger of being commonly known; that all his purſuits, counſels, and pleaſures are likely in time to be publiſhed and canvaſſed, probably miſconſtrued, and judged with rigor: That to all his actions, to all his words, there will be many officious witneſſes, many greedy, perhaps unfaithful liſteners: That this is a lot unſeparably annexed to an elevated ſtate; and thence he will be convinced how much it concerns him to do and to ſay nothing unworthy of himſelf, nothing juſtly to offend his People.

He will find the nobleſt deſigns for the Public Good often marred by malignant ſpirits, through private pique and the gratification of a particular paſſion; find one man, or party of men, fre-

quently combining to diſtreſs, perhaps to deſtroy their Country, becauſe another man, or party of men, was employed to ſerve it or to ſave it. He will find perſonal and domeſtic feuds often producing popular factions, and even convulſions in the State, ſuch as have threatened its downfal; like the firſt quarrel between Livius Druſus and Servilius Cæpio at Rome, in the time of the Commonwealth, a quarrel that rent all the City into angry Parties. Yet from what mighty cauſe did it begin? From no other than that the two families happened to bid upon one another for a Gold Ring at an Auction. Hence he will learn to ſtifle betimes the beginning of faction in the State.

He will find that a Prince truſting to flattery and ſurrounded with flatterers, is often long hated before he knows that he is not beloved, nay, whilſt he is perſuaded that he is. Hence he will reſolve to beware of ſuch as are always ſoothing him, reſolve, in order to gain the love of his People, to do things which ſhall

convince

convince them that he loves them, as the ſureſt way of making them love him, and of knowing that they do.

He will perceive that all the goods of Fortune are tranſient and periſhing, that Fortune, even when ſhe ſmiles moſt, may prove untoward and deſert him, like that of the great Kings of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar and Belſhazzar, who, whilſt ſecure of their power, boaſting in their might, and reſigned to luxury and banquetting, felt a terrible reverſe, the one degraded, the other ſlain. He will find, that of all the felicities of this world, and amongſt all its poſſeſſions, Virtue alone is that which can never periſh, never forſake him. Nor power nor youth, nor pleaſure can be ſtayed or ſecured againſt malice, and time, and accidents. But Virtue is a ſure ſupport, always preſent and unchangeable, above envy, above rage and fate. Even he who periſhes for his Virtue, is happier than one who by oppreſſing Virtue acquires Empires.

By

By Virtue Your Royal Highneſs will eaſily conceive to be here underſtood the ſolid and extenſive Virtue of a Prince, ſuch as prompts him to do good to all men, ſuch as reſtrains him from injuring any, and not an unmanly fondneſs for fanciful obſervances and forms, nor a propenſity to monkiſh devotions, nor his foſtering and enriching Hypocrites and Bigots; things which ſuch men generally miſcal by that venerable name, or at leaſt conſider as equivalents for the want of it in other and more important inſtances, to the notable miſguidance, and ſometimes to the ruin of Kings, ſuch eſpecially as were devout, but tyrannical, and by humouring Bigots, were encouraged in their Tyranny.

He will find, that as true Valour is a glorious quality, which has no other aim than the welfare of Society, and the chaſtiſement of ſuch as diſturb it; ſo a wanton Spirit of fighting and conquering is always miſchievous to the world, without bringing him who has it any

ſolid

ſolid advantages, but always much guilt, danger and diſquiet; that it proves generally pernicious to himſelf, almoſt ever deſtructive to the conquered: That ſuch diffuſive miſchief is but diffuſive infamy, though he may judge ſo ill as to aim at public adoration and fame; and that it were deſireable, for the quiet and welfare of human-kind, that ſuch romantic Deſtroyers, ſuch ſanguinary Lunatics, were locked up in Mad-houſes, or in Dens, with their leſs miſchievous brethren, poſſeſſed with humbler diſtraction, and ſatiated with leſs blood.

He will ſee much ground for approving the advice of Iſocrates, not to envy Princes who poſſeſs vaſt territories, but only to emulate ſuch as know how to preſerve and improve their own. He will be convinced, that Princes who have the ſmalleſt Dominions, have enough to do, if they will do it well; and that vaſt Empires, inſtead of growing more flouriſhing and populous, grow generally Deſarts. He will perceive the unſpeakable advantages of public Liberty, the

the ſingular proſperity of Free States, how ſuperior to ſuch as are not free, in Strength, People, and Wealth; that all theſe advantages accrue to the Prince, whenever he wants them for public ends; and that no other ends can he have, if he conſult his duty and glory, ſince in promoting the felicity of his State both his glory and his duty are found: That he who ſeparates himſelf from his People, can only earn inſecurity and reproach; nor aught elſe can he expect but reproach, and the ſevereſt, if he ſtrive againſt the happineſs of his Subjects, and bring miſery upon thoſe whom he is bound to cheriſh and protect. He will conſider what anguiſh it muſt be to a Prince whoſe Subjects are oppreſſed and enſlaved, to ſee how infinitely ſuch as are free ſurpaſs his, to compare their plenty and eaſe with the poverty and meanneſs of his own. He will find ſmall Free States contending againſt great Empires with ſuperior Proweſs and Might; find a ſingle City baffling the efforts of mighty abſolute Kings, like that of Seleucia, which for ſeveral years together repulſed

repulſed the whole power of Parthia; and that Tacitus had reaſon to ſay, that the Romans had always found the Germans, who were ever a free People, a much more terrible enemy than the mighty Parthian Monarchy.

Your Royal Highneſs is born to govern a People the moſt free upon earth, a People always free, yet always obedient to Royal Authority tempered by Laws, but ever impatient of encroachments and oppreſſion. This is the character given them by Tacitus ſixteen hundred years ago, "That they chearfully "complied with the levies of men, with "the impoſition of Tribute, and with "all the duties of Government, pro-"vided they received no illegal treat-"ment or inſults from their Governors: "for, thoſe they bore with impatience; "nor had they been any further ſub-"dued by the Romans, than only to "obey juſt Laws, but never to ſubmit "to be Slaves."

Such, Sir, was the Genius of the Britiſh People then, ſuch it has continued, and

and such it remains: They were always peaceable Subjects to Princes who observed the Laws, very uneasy and discontented under such as set themselves above Law, and therefore lost all by grasping at too much. As long as the chief Ruler kept his Oath, the people kept their Allegiance, generally longer. They have been always fond of Monarchy modelled and limited by Laws. Nor does such limitation infer any insufficiency or defect in this sort of Government, but only that the Monarch is secured against committing errors, and suffering for them, from hurting himself and his people. It is undoubtedly the most desireable and complete form that the good fortune of men has hitherto produced, or their wit been capable of contriving, and allows all the Liberty and Protection which Subjects can want from Government, all the true Grandeur and Dignity which Princes can desire from Empire, even the unlimited Power of doing good. Of more Liberty than it affords us we are hardly capable, and an endeavour to extend it much further might break it: As indeed

Liberty,

Liberty, as well as Power, then always ceaſes to be ſecure, whenever it is turned into licentiouſneſs. No civilized Nation in the World enjoys ſo much; nor is there any Government exiſting, where the malice of men in Power has leſs ſcope than here, or fewer opportunities of diſtreſſing or deſtroying ſuch as they diſlike.

This Conſtitution has indeed been often ſhaken, ſometimes oppreſſed; but having its foundations very deep and ſtrong, it ſtill recovered its ancient frame and vigour, to its own honour, and to the laſting contumely, often to the ruin, of ſuch as had cruſhed it. The power of the Crown, and the privileges of the Subjects, are fortunately proportioned. They have Liberty enough to make them happy: The Crown has authority enough to maintain and increaſe that happineſs, and therefore poſſeſſes all the glory which can adorn a Crown. This is the true and ſubſtantial renown of Princes. Any other renown than this is all adulterate and forged; nor could there be greater vanity

vanity than that of a late enterprizing Monarch, who pretended to high glory, though to gain it he was beggaring and oppreſſing his Subjects. A Prince can then truly boaſt his glory, when his People can boaſt their freedom and eaſe. This, Sir, is the lot with which we are now bleſſed under the mild and juſt Government of Your Royal Father; and, when he has finiſhed his Reign with great renown, and length of days, we ſee much cauſe for preſuming upon the ſame happy lot from the Reign of Your Royal Highneſs.

As in the following Hiſtory, compoſed by a man of extraordinary wiſdom, there are found many excellent rules and leſſons for the conduct of Princes, with many affecting warnings taken from the ill fate of ſuch as obſerved not theſe rules, I humbly preſent it to Your Royal Highneſs. This I do with very affectionate zeal for your intereſt and honour, and am utterly unbiaſſed by any ſuch motives as uſually produce Dedications to Princes. The whole of my requeſt and ambition

is,

is, that this Addreſs, and the following Hiſtory and Diſcourſes, may be graciouſly accepted, and that to myſelf may be allowed the honour of being ever eſteemed, what I ſincerely am, with intire duty, ſubmiſſion and reſpect,

SIR,

Your Royal Highneſs's

Moſt Humble,

Moſt Dutiful, and

Moſt Obedient Servant,

T. GORDON.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK I.

The SUMMARY.

The decay of good Hiſtorians, whence: the partiality of Writers why. What copious matter for the following Hiſtory. The condition of the City, Armies and Provinces, upon the death of Nero. Galba *diſliked: the wickedneſs of his Miniſters: the Soldiery diſcontented. Of* Veſpaſian, Mucianus, *and the Forces in the Eaſt. Thoſe in Germany revolt.* Galba *adopts* Piſo: Otho *conſpires againſt both, corrupts the Prætorian guards, and is by them ſaluted Emperor.* Galba *and* Piſo *murdered: their Characters. What terror prevails in the City.* Vitellius *proclaimed Emperor, by whom and how. The march of his Army and Generals into Italy: he himſelf follows. His luxury and ſtupidity. The cruelty and rapine of his Generals,* Cæcina *and* Valens. *The behaviour of* Otho; *he and* Vitellius *ſtrive to over-reach one another. Combuſtions in* Mœſia,

but repreſſed. The terrible ſpirit of the ſoldiers in the City, their diſorders and inſurrection: they require to have the whole Senate murdered: are with difficulty appeaſed by Otho. *The melancholy ſtate of* Rome: Otho *leaves it, and proceeds to war.—All theſe the tranſactions of a few months.*

WITH the ſecond Conſulſhip of Servius Galba, who had Titus Vinius for his Collegue, I ſhall begin this Work. For, the preceding hiſtory, eight hundred and twenty years backwards to the foundation of Rome, has been by divers authors compiled, who, in recounting the tranſactions of the Roman people, have acquitted themſelves with an eloquence equal to their freedom of ſpirit altogether unconfined. But when after the battle of Actium public peace could be no otherwiſe obtained, than by throwing the whole power into the hands of one, all ſuch noble writers diſappeared. Moreover, towards the impairing and corrupting of truth, many other cauſes concurred: As firſt, the Republic being but one man's property, Rome was become to her own Citizens like another State, foreign and unknown. Then enſued a ſervile proneneſs to idolize the Emperors, or an equal deteſtation of their perſons and power. So that, between the complaiſance of ſome, and the reſentment of others, the care of informing poſterity was loſt. It is true that againſt a fawning writer we are eaſily upon our guard; but greedily ſwallowed are calumnies and bitterneſs; ſince, while in ſycophancy there appears the deteſtable blot of ſervitude and debaſement, detraction and invective come covered under the diſguiſe of boldneſs and free ſpeech. To me neither Galba, nor Otho, nor Vitellius was known by any act of favour or injuſtice. That my promotion in the State was begun by Veſpaſian, augmented by Titus, and by Domitian advanced

vanced yet higher, I would by no means disown. But by those who profess to deliver truth, naked and uncorrupt, nor personal affection nor personal hate must be admitted in their Characters of men. If life remain, I have reserved, for the employment of my old age, the reign of the deified Nerva, with that of the Emperor Trajan; a work more copious, as well as more safe: Such is the rare felicity of these times, when you are at full liberty to entertain what sentiments you please, and to declare what sentiments you entertain.

My present attempt is to describe a time abounding in surprizing events; tragical in battles and slaughter; full of fury and faction; a time horrible and bloody even in the intervals of peace: Four Emperors were slain by the sword; three fierce civil wars, foreign wars still more; generally a sad mixture of both: Our affairs indeed successful in the East, but in the West melancholy and disastrous; Commotions begun in Illyricum, and beginning in both the Gauls; Britain reduced, and just after lost: The Suevian people, and those of Sarmatia, confederated against us; the name of the Dacians, for the many bloody defeats, sometimes sustained by us, sometimes returned upon them, become great and renowned: The Parthians ready to arm upon the appearance of a counterfeit Nero: Italy in the mean time afflicted with fresh calamities altogether tragical, or with old, after a long intermission, revived: The fairest cities of Campania swallowed up or overthrown, and that fine territory, fruitful above all others, covered with desolation: Rome itself, by frequent conflagrations, laid waste; her temples, the most venerable and ancient, utterly consumed; nay, the capitol burnt down by the hands of Romans: Religion profaned; mighty and daring adulteries: The Isles peopled with Exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood.

But more hideous ſtill were the ravages of cruelty at Rome: It was treaſonable to be noble, or to be rich, or to have borne honours, or to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was inevitable deſtruction. Nor were the baneful villanies of the Informers more ſhocking than their mighty and diſtinguiſhing rewards; whilſt upon ſome were beſtowed, as the ſpoils of the State, the Pontifical dignities and thoſe of the Conſulſhip: Others were ſent with Procuratorial authority into the Provinces: Some were made prime confidents and miniſters at home; and in every ſtation, exerting all their terrors, and purſuing their hate, they controuled and confounded all things. Slaves were ſuborned againſt their Maſters, Freedmen againſt their Patrons; and ſuch as had no enemies, were betrayed and undone by their friends.

The age however was not ſo utterly forſaken of all virtue, but that it likewiſe afforded laudable examples of friendſhip and magnanimity. There were mothers who accompanied their baniſhed ſons; wives who followed their huſbands into exile; in kindred were found reſolution and ſuccour; in ſons-in-law conſtancy and duty; in ſlaves ſuch fidelity as mocked all the menaces and horror of the torture: illuſtrious men ſtruggling under keen diſtreſs, ſupporting it nobly, and their fortitude in death equal to that of the moſt celebrated ancients. Beſides the endleſs emergencies and rotations which were purely human; there appeared, in the earth and the air, ſuch ſigns as were more than natural, the tumult and menaces of thunder, and other prophetic warnings; but all ſtrangely varying, joyful, terrible, doubtful, apparent. In truth, as never had more tragical calamities befallen the Roman people, never was it proved by more evident indications, that not for our protection, but for their own vengeance, is the providence of the Gods over us.

But

But before I begin the thread of my ſtory, it ſeems neceſſary to repreſent the condition of the City, the ſpirit of the ſeveral armies, the ſtate and diſpoſition of the Provinces, with our political advantages and weakneſſes in the whole Roman world; that hence may be learnt not only the laſt reſult of things, which for the moſt part ſeems fortuitous, but their cauſes too and firſt movements. As the death of Nero paſs'd for a public bleſſing, eſpecially in the firſt ſally of joy; ſo it awakened different paſſions in the minds of men, not only at Rome, in the Senate, People, and City-troops, but in all the Legions every where, and in the Leaders of the Legions; as then firſt was diſcloſed a ſecret of government which affected all theſe intereſts; "that elſe-"where than at Rome an Emperor could be creat-"ed." The Senators rejoicing in their ancient liberty juſt reſumed, exerciſed it with the greater boldneſs, as Galba was a new Prince, not yet eſtabliſhed, and abſent. The principal Roman Knights were, next to the Senators, inſpired with the ſame pleaſing paſſion. Such of the people as remained uncorrupt, and were attached to the intereſt of the great families, with the followers and freedmen of perſons condemned to death or exile, became revived with vigorous hopes. The Vulgar, ſunk in ſordidneſs and debauchery, and inured to the idle amuſements of the Theatre and the Circus; with them the viler ſort of bondmen, or others who having waſted their fortunes, ſubſiſted by the infamous Vices of Nero; were all ſtruck with ſadneſs, all greedy of rumours and innovations.

The ſoldiery of Rome, poſſeſſed with a long and ſworn fealty to the family of the Cæſars, and from no biaſs in themſelves, but rather by artifice and inſtigation, urged to deſert Nero; after they found that the promiſe of a donative in Galba's name was unfulfilled; that there was not in peace, as in war,

equal ſcope for mighty merit and mighty recompences; and that the favour of a Prince created by the Legions, would be engroſſed by the Legions; became abandoned to novel deſigns, in which they were further animated by the treaſonable practices of Nymphidius their Captain, who had embarked in meaſures to ſeize the Sovereignty. It is true, that in the very attempt Nymphidius periſhed. But, though the head of the conſpiracy was cut off, moſt of the ſoldiers had been engaged in it, and their diſaffection remained. Nor did they refrain from ſeditious invectives, vilifying Galba for his old age and avarice. That ſeverity of his, a quality ſo admired of old, and by the ancient armies ever diſtinguiſhed with applauſe, was very grievous to a ſlothful ſoldiery ſcorning the primitive diſcipline, and for fourteen years ſo habituated to the baſe reign of Nero, that at this time they no leſs admired the vileneſs and vices of their Princes, than of old they had adored their virtues. The diſaffection was heightened by a ſaying of Galba's, worthy indeed of virtue and the Commonwealth, but perilous to himſelf; *that he choſe his ſoldiers, and did not buy them.* Neither did the reſt of his conduct correſpond with this good rule.

Titus Vinius, and Cornelius Laco, his miniſters, the one of all men the moſt peſtilently wicked, the other the moſt worthleſs and abject, deriving upon him the weight and infamy of their own numberleſs iniquities, and ſcorn upon the impotency of the adminiſtration, involved the Prince, already enfeebled with age, in utter ruin. Slow and bloody was his march to Rome, as in it had been ſlain Cingonius Varro, Conſul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, who had been Conſul; the former as an accomplice in the Conſpiracy of Nymphidius, Petronius for having commanded as General under Nero; both thought to have periſhed as innocents, as they

died

died without being heard in their own defence. His publick entry into the City, after the maſſacre of ſo many thouſand ſoldiers deſtitute of arms, was of boding aſpect, and terrible even to thoſe by whoſe ſwords they had fallen. A Spaniſh Legion was by him brought into the City, where likewiſe remained another, one enrolled by Nero out of the Marines. So that Rome was filled with an army altogether new and extraordinary there. For, beſides all theſe forces, there were many more from Germany, Britain, and Illyricum; ſuch as had been thence detached by Nero, and ſent forwards to the Caſpian ſtreights, for the war which he meditated againſt the Albanians, but recalled to ſuppreſs the revolt of Vindex in Gaul. Theſe were mighty and abundant materials for public combuſtions and changes; in truth, not all directly combining in favour of any particular, yet all prepared for the next daring ſpirit.

At the ſame juncture it fortuned, that the aſſaſſination of Clodius Macer, and that of Fonteius Capito, were divulged. Macer, whilſt he raiſed manifeſt commotion in Africa, was by Trebonius Garucianus, the Imperial Procurator there, at the command of Galba, ſlain; and Capito in Germany for the ſame crime, by Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, Commanders of the Legions, without ſtaying for the Emperor's command. There were who believed that Capito, however abominable he were, ſtained with avarice, and immerſed in impurities, had yet declined to engage in any turbulent counſels; that having rejected the ſolicitations of Aquinus and Valens to rebel with them, he was by them charged with their own ill faith and treaſon; and that Galba, whether from unſteadineſs of ſpirit, or afraid of making deeper ſcrutiny, and ſeeming to approve their conduct, whatever it were, ſeeing whatever it were, it could not

be recalled, ratified the execution. However it were, both theſe executions, that of Macer as well as that of Capito, were ſadly received; the uſual fate of every Prince under public hate; ſince every action of his, whether good or evil, is invidiouſly conſtrued, and contributes to undo him. Already too his Freedmen, indulged in immoderate power, were expoſing to common ſale all the honours and emoluments of the State. His Bondmen alſo were greedy to profit by their ſudden ſunſhine, and eager to convert into haſty gains the ſhort reign of an ancient Maſter. So that in the Court of Galba appeared all the evils and exceſſes lately ſeen in that of Nero, and were equally grievous, but not equally excuſed. To thoſe who were accuſtomed to behold the youth and gay perſon of Nero, even the age of Galba was matter of deriſion and hate; agreeably to the genius of the Vulgar, in their comparing of Princes, always to prefer figure and perſonal grace.

Such was the temper of men at Rome, ſuitable to that of a multitude ſo mighty and various. For the Provinces; Spain was governed by Cluvius Rufus, an eloquent man, qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war. Both the Gauls, beſides that they ſtill reverenced the memory of Vindex, were retained by recent obligations, the privilege of Roman Citizens, and the reduction of their Tribute. Thoſe Gallic Cities, however, which lay contiguous to the German armies, as they were not diſtinguiſhed with the like honours, but ſome of them even ſhortened of their territory, felt the ſame meaſure of indignation from the advantages repeated by others, as from the indignities done to themſelves. Amongſt the German armies appeared a ſpirit altogether threatening in forces ſo mighty. From the pride of their late victory, they were become exulting and furious; and, from fear of being

ing charged with eſpouſing an oppoſite cauſe, anxious and diſtruſtful. Late and ſlow had been their revolt from Nero; neither had Verginius their General declared immediately for Galba. Whether he ſtudied to make himſelf Emperor, is uncertain, but univerſally agreed, that the ſoldiery had tendered him the Empire. By the ſlaying of Capito, even ſuch as could not complain that it was undeſerved, were yet piqued and enraged. What they wanted was a leader; Verginius having been, under the ſhew of friendſhip, removed from them; and in his Perſon, as he was not reſtored, but his conduct even arraigned, they conceived themſelves to be charged as delinquents.

The Army in upper Germany contemned their Commander, Hordeonius Flaccus, one from his lameneſs and the infirmities of age, unweildy and decrepit, void of firmneſs, void of authority; unequal, in truth, to the direction of a ſoldiery the moſt orderly and peaceable, ſo that, under their preſent frenzy, they were even further inflamed by his impotent endeavours to reſtrain them. The Legions in lower Germany had been a good while without a Commander of Conſular name; till now by Galba, Vitellius was ſent, the ſon of that Vitellius who had been Cenſor and thrice Conſul. This to the Emperor ſeemed ſufficient. The Army in Britain was free from all diſorder and the rage of parties. None, in truth, of all our Legions lived more inoffenſively than they, during all the heat and uproar of the civil wars; perhaps becauſe they were remote, and ſeparated by the ſea; or perhaps by frequent action in the field, they had been inured, upon a foreign foe rather to ſpend their hate. Illyricum remained in tranquillity; though the Legions called from thence by Nero, had, while they tarried idle in Italy, applied by ambaſſadors and ſolicitations, to Verginius. But as by long tracts

of countries the two armies were disjointed, (the moſt wholſome expedient to ſecure the faith of ſoldiers) they neither united their forces, nor communicated their infection and crimes.

The Eaſt continued hitherto free from all commotion. Licinius Mucianus, at the head of four Legions, governed Syria, a man equally ſignal for the favours and for the frowns of fortune. In his youth he had, by all arts and addreſs, courted the favour of men in power. His eſtate being then waſted, his condition deſperate, the indignation too of Claudius threatening him, he crept into a retirement in Aſia, and there lived as near to the ſtate of an exile, as he was afterwards to that of a ſovereign. In him centered a ſtrange combination of qualities good and bad, luxury and vigilance, haughtineſs and complaiſance; during receſs, exceſſively voluptuous; of infinite abilities, when buſineſs urged him. Hence his equal ſhares of praiſe and reproach, as a public miniſter admired, as a private voluptuary condemned. But being a great maſter in all the ſeveral arts of engaging, he was mighty in credit with thoſe who were under him, or about him, or in equal authority with him; ſuch a man, finally, as could eaſier make an Emperor than be one. The war againſt the Jews was conducted by Flavius Veſpaſianus, at the head of three Legions; a command to which he had been preferred by Nero. Nor againſt Galba did Veſpaſian harbour any unkind wiſh or diſtaſte; nay, he had diſpatched away his ſon Titus to perform fealty and homage; as in its place we ſhall remember. That the Empire was by the inviſible laws of fate, by prodigies divinely ſent, and by the reſponſes of Oracles, foretold and ordained to Veſpaſian and his ſons; was what we believed after we had ſeen them Emperors.

The government of Egypt with the command of the troops which bridled it, had, from the times of Auguſtus,

Auguſtus, been veſted in the Roman Knights with the Authority of its ancient Kings. Such precaution he thought neceſſary, to retain under his own inſpection the government of a kingdom ſurrounded with ſeas and deſerts, abounding in grain, intoxicated with ſuperſtition, addicted to riot, and thence prone to feuds and ſedition; unacquainted with the reſtraints of law, and inſenſible of duty to magiſtrates. Tiberius Alexander ruled at this time there, himſelf a native of Egypt. Africa and the Legions in it, were diſpoſed to ſubmit to any Emperor whatſoever, now Clodius Macer was ſlain; having in him proved the government of an humbler maſter. The two Mauritanias, Ræ ia, Noricum, Thrace, and the other countries adminiſtered by Procurators, adopted the temper of the ſeveral armies lying next them, and were inſtigated by love or hate to the different factions, according to the neighbourhood and influence of the ſtronger. The Provinces which were unarmed, and Italy itſelf principally, lay open to be enſlaved by the next invader, whoever he were, and to become the prize of war and conqueſt. In this ſituation ſtood the Roman affairs, when Servius Galba in his ſecond Conſulſhip, with Titus Vinius for his Collegue, began the year, which to them proved the laſt, and upon the Commonwealth well nigh brought her final doom.

Early in January arrived advices from Pompeius Propinquus Procurator of Belgic Gaul, that the Legions in higher Germany, in open violation of their oaths and allegiance, demanded imperiouſly to have another Emperor, and to the pleaſure of the Senate and People of Rome referred the free election of one; as from ſuch complaiſance they hoped to merit a ſlighter cenſure of this their revolt. It was this intelligence that ripened the deſign about which Galba had for ſome time been deliberating within himſelf, as well as in concert with his confidents,

concerning the adoption of a ſucceſſor. Nor in truth had any ſubject, during the few months of his reign, ſo much filled all mouths throughout the city; not from the licentious freedom only and fondneſs of canvaſſing public counſels and events, but in conſideration of the crazy age of Galba. Few indeed poſſeſſed any affection for the Public, or capacity to judge of it; but numbers, out of ſecret and ſelfiſh views, awarded the adoption to this patron, or to that friend, ſpreading his fame in cabals. They even found motives equally ſtrong from their hate of Titus Vinius, who growing daily more potent, grew thence daily more deteſted. For ſuch was the weakneſs and acquieſcence of Galba, that by it the avarice of his friends, already inſatiable, and ravening according to the meaſure of his ſovereign fortune, was further heightened and excited; whilſt under a Prince thus feeble and credulous, their iniquities were attended with the ſmaller peril, and with gains the more mighty.

The whole power of the Sovereignty was ſhared between Titus Vinius the Conſul, and Cornelius Laco, Captain of the Prætorian Guards. Nor inferior to either in grace and authority was Icelus his Freedman, now veſted by the Gold ring with the order of Knighthood, and every where called by an equeſtrian name, Martianus. Theſe favourites, already at variance, and in ſmaller inſtances purſuing each his own ſeparate views, were in their ſentiments about chuſing a ſucceſſor, divided into two factions Vinius was for Otho: Laco and Icelus were combined together, not ſo much to favour the intereſt of any particular, as that of any particular but him. Neither was the friendſhip between Otho and Titus Vinius unknown to Galba, who had learnt it from the bru tings of ſuch as are wont to comment upon all things. For, as Vinius had a daughter who was a widow, and Otho was

not

not married, it was taken for granted that an alliance between them was intended. It is my own opinion, that Galba was, moreover, moved by a concern for the commonwealth, which was in vain reſcued from Nero, were it to devolve upon Otho. For, in a manner looſe and idle had Otho waſted his tender years, in ſcandalous debaucheries his youth, and grew acceptable to Nero purely by imitating his profligate life. To him, therefore, as to the chief confident in his impure pleaſures, had Nero committed the keeping of his beloved miſtreſs, Poppæa Sabina, till he could accompliſh the removal of Octavia his wife; but ſoon ſuſpecting him for a rival, he ſent him to Luſitania, where the adminiſtration of that province furniſhed a pretence for keeping him from Rome. In Luſitania he governed with gentleneſs and popularity; was the foremoſt to eſpouſe the cauſe of Galba, nor failed to promote it with vigour; and while the war continued, made the nobleſt figure of all who attended it; and the hopes which, from ſuch recommendations, he had inſtantly conceived of the adoption, continued daily to tranſport him more and more, as he was favoured by moſt of the ſoldiery, and as all the courtiers and creatures of Nero were paſſionate for a Prince ſo reſembling the late one.

Galba the while, who after tidings of the ſedition in Germany (though of Vitellius he hitherto knew nothing certain) was beſet with anxieties; full of fears whither the fury of the armies might tend, nor in truth truſting to the faith of the troops in Rome; applied what to him ſeemed the only remedy, and held a council for declaring a ſucceſſor. To it, beſides Vinius and Laco, having ſummoned Marius Celſus, Conſul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, Governor of Rome, he, after a ſhort ſpeech concerning his own great age, ordered Piſo Licinianus to be ſent for; it is uncertain whether of his own motion

motion and choice, or, as ſome believed, by the perſuaſions of Laco; as between him and Piſo there had paſſed an intercourſe of friendſhip at the houſe of Rubellius Plautus. But he artfully recommended Piſo as one to himſelf unknown; and to this his counſel had accrued the character of ſincerity from the reputation of the recommended, altogether eminent and unblemiſhed. Piſo was the ſon of Marcus Craſſus and Scribonia, and both by father and mother nobly born; his aſpect and demeanour reſembling thoſe of the antient Romans; and ſuch as, in candid eſtimation, paſſed for grave; but by thoſe who judged cenſoriouſly, accounted melancholy and auſtere. That part of his temper, which alarmed the diſcontented, pleaſed the perſon adopting.

Galba therefore, taking Piſo by the hand, is ſaid to have ſpoke in the following ſtrain: "Were I, "as a private man, to adopt you for my ſon, by "vertue of the law *Curiata*, in the preſence of the "Pontiffs, according to the ordinary uſage; glo- "rious even then would be the adoption to us "both; as with the blood of the great Pompey "and Marcus Craſſus, my family would be en- "riched; and the nobility of your houſe derive "freſh ſplendor from the ſignal luſtre and renown "of the Sulpitian and Lutatian race. I am now "a public perſon, by the united conſent of Gods "and men called to the Empire; and of this very "Sovereignty, for which our anceſtors contended "with arms, I, who by war have obtained it, "do offer you the poſſeſſion, while you are neither "ſeeking nor purſuing it: A gift to which I am "urged only by the love of my country, and your "own excellent qualifications. In this I follow "the example of the deified Auguſtus, who aſſum- "ed ſucceſſively, for his partners in power, firſt "his ſiſter's ſon Marcellus, next his ſon-in-law "Agrippa, afterwards his grandſons; laſtly, his "wife's

" wife's ſon Tiberius. But Auguſtus, who would " entail the empire upon his own houſe, in his " own houſe ſought a ſucceſſor: I chuſe out of the " Commonwealth an heir to the Commonwealth. " Not that I am reduced to this choice by any " want of relations to my blood, or of fellow " commanders in war. But neither did I, no " more than you, arrive at ſupreme power by any " efforts of ambition; and my thus overlooking " your relations, as well as my own, is a proof " with what ſincerity of intention I prefer you to " all men. You have a brother, in nobility your " equal, in age your ſuperior; a man worthy of " this fortune, did I not in you find one ſtill more " worthy. Such is your age as to be paſt the gid- " dineſs and impetuoſity of youth; ſuch has been " your courſe of life, that nothing in your con- " duct thus far is ſubject to blame. But hitherto " you have only had an adverſe fortune to contend " with. More dangerous and keen are the ſtimu- " lations of proſperity, to try the temper of the " ſoul, and call forth its weakneſſes. For the " ſtrokes of calamity we ſtruggle under and bear: " By a flow of felicity we are utterly ſubdued and " corrupted.

" You, doubtleſs, will ſtill retain, with your " uſual firmneſs, the ſame honour faith in friend- " ſhip, candour and freedom of ſpirit; endow- " ments which above all others adorn the mind of " man But the falſe complaiſance of others will " ſlacken your fortitude. Flattery will force its " way to your heart; deceitful ſoothings, the moſt " peſtilent poiſon to every honeſt affection, will " inchant you; and to his own ſordid gain will " every particular be wreſting your honour and " good inclinations. You and I upon this occaſion " converſe together with hearts perfectly open and " ſincere: Others will chuſe to make their ad-

" dreſſes

" dreſſes to our fortune rather than to us. Indeed, " to deal faithfully with Princes, to reaſon them " into their duty is a mighty taſk, and with infinite " difficulty performed. But eaſy is the art of " cajoling any Prince whatſoever, and in doing it " the heart has no ſhare. Could this immenſe " Empire ſubſiſt and be ſwayed without a ſingle " Ruler, I ſhould glory in being the firſt Emperor " who reſigned the power of the Republic into her " own hands. But ſuch, long ſince, has been the " fatal ſituation of the State, that all the good " which my old age enables me to do to the Ro- " man people, is to leave them a good ſucceſſor; " nor can you, with all your youth, do more for " them than afford them in yourſelf a benevolent " Prince. Under Tiberius, and Caligula, and " Claudius, we were all of us no more; the Ro- " man world was no more, than as the inheritance " of one family. That the Empire has in me be- " gun to be elective, is a ſign of our antient liberty " revived, and ſome equivalent for it. Now the " Julian and Claudian families being extinct, the " beſt men are likely, in this way of adoption, to " become the higheſt. To be ſprung from a ſo- " vereign race, is the effect of chance, and further " than this, requires no deliberation or regard. " But in the work of adoption, the judgment is " exerciſed, free from biaſs and reſtraint; and " whenever you want to chuſe, you are by the ge- " neral conſent directed to the perſon worthy to " be choſen.

" Have always before your eyes the example of " Nero, who, ſecure as he was, and ſwelling with " the pride of his race, a long genealogy of the " Cæſars his anceſtors, was not in reality dethron- " ed by Julius Vindex, the Governor of a province " unprovided with forces, nor by me aſſiſted by " one legion: No, it was his own brutal tyranny,

" his

" his own beaſtly debaucheries, that flung down " the tyrant from riding on the necks of mankind. " Nor was there till then, any inſtance of an Em- " peror by public ſentence condemned and depoſed. " We who ſucceed him by a different title, by " war, and by publick choice, ſhall thence reap " public glory, however the malignity of particu- " lars may purſue us. Nor muſt you be alarmed, " if, while the world itſelf continues in this gene- " ral uproar, there are two legions which yet re- " main unreclaimed to obedience. It was my own " lot to be called to an unſettled ſtate; and as to " my old age, the only objection to my govern- " ment, it is no longer one, ſince, when it is " known that I have adopted you, I ſhall ſeem " young in my ſucceſſor. The loſs of Nero will " ever be regretted by all the moſt profligate and " bad. To us it belongs, to you and to me, ſo to " govern, that he may not alſo be regretted by the " good.

" To ſay more in this way of inſtruction, the " preſent conjuncture ſuffers not; nor is it ne- " ceſſary; ſince, if I have in you made a worthy " choice, I have anſwered every purpoſe. One " certain rule you have to obſerve, exceeding " wholeſome, as well as exceeding ſhort; ſo to " comport yourſelf towards your ſubjects, as, were " you a ſubject, you would wiſh your Prince to " comport towards you. By this rule you will " beſt diſtinguiſh the boundaries of juſtice and ini- " quity, beſt comprehend the art of reigning. For " you muſt remember, that it is not with us as " with other nations, ſuch as are barbarous and " tyrannized, where a particular lordly houſe is " eſtabliſhed, and where all beſides are ſlaves with- " out reſerve. But you are about to govern the " Romans; a people of too little virtue to ſupport

" com-

" complete liberty, of too much ſpirit to bear ab-
" ſolute bondage."

Galba in theſe and the like reaſonings to Piſo, uſed him like one whom he was but yet creating a Prince. The council treated him in a ſtile of high reverence, as a Prince already created. Of Piſo it is ſaid, that neither in the obſervation of the Council, nor afterwards of the Public, where preſently all eyes were fixed upon him, did he betray any ſymptoms of a mind either troubled or exalted. To Galba, now both his Father and Emperor, his diſcourſe was full of reverence, and where he mentioned himſelf, full of modeſty; no change in his countenance, none in his demeanour: indications that he was more capable of reigning, than deſirous to reign. Where to declare the adoption was next debated; whether to the People aſſembled, or to the Senate, or to the Army. The reſult was to do it in the Camp; a preference which would highly redound to the glory of the ſoldiery; ſince their affections, though when gained by abject court and the force of bribes, they were ill gained, yet were never to be neglected, when by honourable means they could be purchaſed. The palace in the mean time was beſet with the multitude, big with expectation, and impatient for the mighty ſecret. So ungovernable too is the ſpirit of popular rumour, that ſuch as then ſtrove to ſtifle and divert it, did thence render it the more vehement and loud.

The tenth of January, a day black with heavy rains, was, moreover, by the frequent roaring of thunder, by inceſſant lightning, and by the tumult and anger of the elements, rendered unuſually terrible; a matter of religious obſervation in antient times, and conſtant ground for diſſolving public aſſemblies. But it deterred not Galba from repairing to the camp. Whether it were that he contemned ſuch things as fortuitous and unmeaning, or per-

perhaps becauſe the decrees of fate, however foreſhewn, are yet inevitable. To a full aſſembly of the ſoldiers, with the brevity becoming an Emperor, he declared, "That he adopted Piſo, after the "precedent of the deified Auguſtus, and according "to the cuſtom of an army, where every man "chuſes his man." And leſt the revolt in Germany might, by hiding or diſowning it, be thence thought more formidable, he frankly told them, "That the fourth legion and the eighteenth, by "the inſtigation of ſome few incendiaries, had de-"parted from their duty; but further than words "and diſcourſe had not offended, and would ſoon "return to their allegiance." To his ſpeech he added neither gift nor courtſhip. By the Tribunes, however, by the Centurions, and by thoſe of the ſoldiers who ſtood next him, he was anſwered in ſuch expreſſions as carried in them the ſound of ſubmiſſion and alacrity. Through all the reſt was perceived a ſullen ſadneſs and ſilence; as having thus loſt, during war, the donative which cuſtom and their own inſolent claims had made neceſſary even in time of peace. Certain it is, that with any liberality, however ſmall, from the parſimonious old man, their affections might have been gained. He ſuffered by his ſeverity overſtrained, and by practiſing, out of ſeaſon, the rigorous purity of antient times; a taſk to which we are now no longer equal.

From the Camp Galba proceeded to the Senate, where he ſpoke with the ſame unaffecting brevity, as to the ſoldiery. The ſpeech made by Piſo was civil and gracious, and by the Fathers complaiſantly received. Many of them there were who loved him, and made profeſſions altogether ſincere. More courtly and loud were they who were averſe to him; while the indifferent and the major part, under the officious homage which they openly paid him,

him, were foſtering ſecret and ſelfiſh hopes, deſtitute of any zeal for the Public. Nor did Piſo after this, during the four ſucceeding days, the ſhort interval between his adoption and his murder, either act or ſpeak in public. Now, as advices from Germany of the revolt there, were daily arriving, and daily confirmed, and as the City was ever greedy to receive, ever forward to believe all kinds of news, eſpecially ſuch as are alarming and ſad; it was by the Fathers ordained, that deputies ſhould be diſpatched to the German armies. It was even matter of ſecret conſultation, whether Piſo himſelf ſhould not go; and for his going the plea ſeemed ſtill ſtronger. "They, in truth, would carry with "them the authority of the Senate; but he in his "own perſon, the Imperial dignity of Cæſar." It ſeemed, moreover, expedient, that with the reſt, Laco, Captain of the Prætorian guards, ſhould be ſent; a deſign which Laco himſelf defeated. The chuſing of the deputies too (for to Galba the Senate had permitted the choice) was accompanied with a ſcandalous inconſtancy; and they were named, and excuſed, and changed, according to the ſeveral machinations of particulars, to procure or to decline that employment; juſt as each found himſelf prompted by perſonal hopes or perſonal fears.

How to find money was the next concern; and while every expedient was examined, it ſeemed of all others the moſt juſt, to ſupply the Public at the expence of thoſe, whom the Public had been impoveriſhed to enrich. Above ſeventeen millions had Nero conſumed in profuſe penſions and donations. All the partakers in this extravagance were called to account by Galba, who, leaving them a tenth of that wild liberality, ordered that the reſt ſhould be reſtored. But of all that wild liberality they had ſcarce a tenth left unwaſted; having laviſhed the plunder of the Public, and that of their fellow Citi-

zens,

zens, in the same riot and prodigality, in which they had confounded their own private fortunes. And to these men, of all others the most rapacious, of all others the most abandoned to profusion and excesses, there remained neither lands nor pecuniary revenues, nor any thing, save the implements and garniture of voluptuousness and debauchery. In this Court of resumption presided thirty Roman Knights; a Court new in its institution, and from the number of officers, from the numerous suits and intrigues, heavy and vexatious. On all hands were beheld open sales, and the common crier; and with public seizures, with public confiscations, the whole city was in anguish and ferment. Yet infinite matter of joy it proved, to find the vile objects of Nero's extravagance as poor as those whom he had robbed. About the same time were discharged from their command Antonius Taurus, and Antonius Naso, Tribunes of the Prætorian Guards, Emilius Pacensis, Tribune of the City-bands, and Julius Fronto of the Night-watch. This removal, however, proved no remedy against the infidelity of the rest, but an alarm to their fears; since to policy and dread they ascribed it, that particulars only were dismissed, and concluded themselves all equally suspected.

During these transactions, Otho, who in the quiet and establishment of the State saw nothing but despair, and only upon public confusion founded his hopes, was in his civil pursuits excited by many concurring stimulations. He lived in a course of riot and expence, which even to the fortune of a sovereign Prince, would have proved burdensome and uneasy; under necessities such as to any private man would have appeared scarce supportable; burning with rage against Galba, with envy towards Piso. A fiction too of fear for his own life, furnished a colour for his inordinate ambition. "He

"had

" had been obnoxious to Nero; but could not hope
" to escape a second time by the trust of a province,
" or another honourable exile. Ever suspected and
" ever hated by all reigning princes was he, who
" by the public voice was destined to the Succession.
" To himself this consideration only had proved a
" prejudice with Galba, however old he were; a
" greater prejudice it would still prove with Piso,
" a young Prince, in his own nature rough and
" stern, and, by a long course of exile, rendered
" perfectly savage. Since therefore Otho might be
" slain, whether he submitted or resisted, it be-
" hoved him to exert his might, and make a reso-
" lute effort, while the authority of Galba was
" daily decaying, that of Piso not yet confirmed.
" Natural and opportune for enterprises mighty
" and daring, was the season of revolutions in a
" State. Nor was there cause or room for linger-
" ing at a juncture when resignation and acquies-
" ence were more threatening and pernicious than
" boldness and temerity. Death was, by the laws
" of nature, the equal lot of all men; and with
" posterity the deaths of particulars were only di-
" versified by glory or oblivion. Now since the
" innocent must die, and the guilty could do no
" more, it became a brave man to provoke his fall,
" nor to perish without deserving it."

Otho had a soul not of the same soft temper and effeminacy with his person. Moreover his favourite Freedmen and Slaves, themselves inured to a licentiousness and riot inconsistent with the œconomy of a private family, were continually displaying to their Lord the allurements of Nero's Court, the delicacies and revelling, the choice of wives, the choice of women, with all the unbridled wantonness and excesses of a Crown; and, as he was of himself passionate for all such imperial luxury, they represented the same as his own, if he roused himself

himself and made it so; but reproached him if he acquiesced, for leaving the possession to another. The Astrologers at the same time urged him by their predictions, while they were confidently averring, that the stars presaged approached revolutions, and a year of signal glory to Otho: A generation of men by princes never to be trusted, constant deceivers of such as foster new hopes and designs, and a generation which from this our City will ever be excluded by law, and against law ever entertained in it. Many of these Fortune-tellers were by Poppæa employed in her secret intrigues, and some of the detestable instruments which she used for accomplishing her marriage with the Emperor. Of this tribe Ptolemy was one, who had accompanied Otho into Spain, and having foretold him that he should survive Nero, gained credit afterwards from the event. And now, from a public rumour and opinion current amongst all such as weighed and compared the old age of Galba, with the vigour and youth of Otho, Ptolemy conjectured himself, and persuaded Otho, that his assumption into the Sovereignty would surely happen. But with Otho these wretched predictions passed as uttered by a prophetic spirit, and as the propitious warnings of the Fates. Such is the visionary genius of human nature, ever most zealous to believe things dark and unsearchable. Neither did Ptolemy confine himself to predictions only; having first flattered the ambition of Otho he was now prompting him to the last bloody act of treason As indeed from the harbouring such aspiring wishes to the forming of such black purposes, the mind is led with wonderful facility.

Yet whether this treason was just then conceived, is altogether uncertain. The affections of the soldiers he had long and assiduously courted, either in view of the Succession, which he hoped, or to prepare

pare them for the conſpiracy which he meditated. This court he was upon all occaſions paying them, in their progreſs from place to place, or as they marched in order of battle, or lay in garriſon, or were poſted upon guard; calling every old ſoldier familiarly by his name, and in memory of their common ſervice under Nero, ſtiling them Comrades. With others, as he ſaw them, he would be reviving acquaintance; many, whom he ſaw not, he would enquire after, and with his money or his intereſt aſſiſt them. Nor in this his commerce with them, failed he frequently to drop ſeveral moving complaints, with inſinuations concerning Galba, full of darkneſs and ambiguity, and every other hint and expreſſion proper to infuſe diſcontent and alarms into minds like theirs, ignorant and vulgar. They already reſented bitterly, as matters of mighty grief, their laborious marches, ſcarcity of proviſions, and the ſeverity of diſcipline and warfare in this reign revived; that they, who had only been accuſtomed to pleaſant tours by ſea, to viſit the delightful bays of Campania, and the fine cities of Achaia, were now obliged to traverſe long ranges of countries, and to climb laborioufly over the high Alps and Pyrenees, ſtruggling under a load of arms.

To this flame which had already ſeized the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, freſh fuels and firebrands were miniſtered by Pudens Mevius, an intimate of Tigellinus. This incendiary, having firſt ſet himſelf to cajole and ſeduce particulars, namely every one naturally addicted to wavering and giddineſs, or pinched with neceſſity, or abandoned to novel purſuits and the luſt of change, had by gradual advances carried this practice ſo high, that whenever Galba was entertained at the houſe of Otho, he thence took opportunity to diſtribute to the Cohort attending upon guard, the ſum of more than three crowns a man,

4 under

under the name of liberality natural at a time of banqueting. This bounty of Otho's, given in truth as a public donative, was further heightened with gifts and recompences conferred more privately upon particulars. Nay, so ardent and bold he was in his measures to corrupt them, that Cocceius Proculus, a lifeguardman, having a contest with a neighbour concerning their boundaries, Otho, at his own expence, purchased the neighbour's whole ground, though the dispute was only about a part, and bestowed it upon Proculus. For, such blind stupidity possessed the Captain of the guards, that by him, transactions the most apparent passed equally unobserved as intrigues the most hidden.

Now Otho at this time committed the direction of the treason premeditated to one of his freedmen, Onomastus; who introduced to his Lord two men as proper instruments in it, Barbius Proculus, * a Serjeant of the lifeguard, and Veturius an Adjutant of the same band. Otho, when, by a conversation long and various, he had well tried their temper and capacity, and found them to be fellows crafty and resolute, loaded them with great rewards, as well as with promises mighty and many, and furnished them with money to bribe and debauch the inclinations of as many of the rest as they were able. Thus two common soldiers undertook to transfer the Empire of the Romans from one Prince to another, and transferred it effectually. Into the secret of the tragical feat intended they admitted very few. The minds of the rest, already uneasy and wavering, they urged and alarmed by various artifices and infusions; represented the soldiers of chief note as under present disgrace and distrust, for having been by Nymphidius distinguished with favours. The crowd and the rest they inflamed, by

* *Tesserarius,* one who carried the watchword.

filling them with utter deſpair of the donative now ſo often procraſtinated. Amongſt them too there were ſome tranſported with a fondneſs for the memory of Nero, and a paſſion for recalling the licentiouſneſs which under him they had enjoyed; and to a man they were ſtruck with dread of a change and reformation to be introduced amongſt the ſoldiery.

This peſtilent humour in the Prætorian bands, ſeized alſo and infected the ſpirits of the Legions and Auxiliaries, men already rouſed and animated, ever ſince it had been divulged, that the Army in Germany had renounced their faith and obedience. And ſo ripe were the evil-diſpoſed and ſeditious to perpetrate the treaſon; nay, even amongſt thoſe who were free from any participation in it, there prevailed ſuch ſilence and diſguiſes, that on the fourteenth of January, the conſpirators were prepared, as Otho returned home from ſupping abroad, to have hurried him away, and declared him Emperor; only that they apprehended the uncertain perils of the night, and that, as widely all over the city the quarters of the ſoldiers were diſjoined, amongſt men diſperſed and intoxicated with liquor no certain concurrence could be enſured. This was a conſideration inſpired by no tenderneſs for the ſtate, which, even in their ſober hours, they had combined to ſtain with the blood of their Prince, but by caution, leſt, during the dark, whoever chanced to be preſented to the ſoldiers of the German or the Pannonian Army, might by them, moſt of them unacquainted with the perſon of Otho, be inſtead of him ſaluted their Sovereign. The revolt was now beginning to operate, and to manifeſt itſelf by manifold indications; but ſuch indications were carefully ſtifled and covered by the conſpirators; nay, ſuch of them as even had reached the ears of Galba, were ridiculed and explained away

away by Laco, Captain of his guards, who was a ſtranger to the ſpirit and diſcontents of the ſoldiery, a certain enemy to every counſel, however excellent, if he himſelf gave it not, and headſtrong in oppoſing every man eminent for ability and diſcernment.

On the fifteenth of January Galba, then ſacrificing at the Temple of Apollo, was by Umbricius the Soothſayer warned of diſmal preſages from the entrails, of treaſonable plots juſt impending, and a domeſtic foe; all in the hearing of Otho, who ſtood next him, and by a different conſtruction underſtood it all as propitious to himſelf, and a ſucceſsful iſſue foretold of his own machination and views. Nor was it long after this ere Onomaſtus, his Freedman, arrived with notice, that *the Surveyor and Builders waited his coming.* This was the ſignal before ſettled amongſt them, to intimate that the ſoldiers were aſſembling, and the conſpiracy ripe for execution. To thoſe who aſked Otho the cauſe of his departure, he feigned for anſwer, that he was about purchaſing certain houſes, which being old, and thence ſuſpected to be decayed, it was therefore neceſſary firſt to examine them. Then leaning on his Freedman, he proceeded through the houſe of Tiberius into the place Velabrum, and from thence to the gilded pillar by the Temple of Saturn. There three and twenty lifeguard-men ſaluted him Emperor; and, as he ſtood full of affright, that from ſo few ſuch ſalutation ſhould come, they placed him in vehement haſte upon a chair, and hurried him away with their ſwords drawn. To theſe, in their progreſs to the camp, much the like number of ſoldiers joined themſelves; ſome as privy to the treaſon, more as ſtruck with the wonderful event; part of them uttering ſhouts, and diſplaying their arms; part remaining in utter

ſilence, reſolved by the iſſue to form their affections.

In the Camp, Julius Martialis, the Tribune, at that Juncture commanded the main guard. This officer, whether he were really overcome with ſurprize at the mighty treaſon, ſo daring and ſudden, or whether he feared the camp to have been more generally infected, and that, if he reſiſted, he muſt be doomed to periſh; behaved ſo as to adminiſter ground of ſuſpicion to many, that he himſelf was engaged in the conſpiracy. The other Tribunes too, and the Centurions, preferred an intereſt preſent and prevailing, to the defence of a cauſe honourable indeed, but uncertain and perilous. Such, moreover, was the biaſs and turn found in the minds of the whole, that an iniquity, of all others the moſt heinous, was by a handful of men attempted, by many deſired, and borne with acquieſcence by all.

Galba, the while, utterly unacquainted with all this revolution, and ſtill bent upon the work of ſacrifices, was importuning with ſupplications, the guardian Gods of an Empire, now under the ſway of another, when the rumour reached him, that ſome particular Senator, it was uncertain which, was by a party juſt then hurried away to the camp, there to be preſented to the ſoldiery; and ſtraight it followed, that Otho was the Senator thus hurried thither. Inſtantly from every part of the city there crowded people with the ſame tidings to Galba, each, as ſoon as he met him, recounting it his own way; ſome heightened the terrible ſtory beyond meaſure; others there were who ſoothed him with relations far ſhort of the facts. For they had not, even at a conjuncture ſo deſperate, unlearnt their wonted ſtile of proſtitute flattery. Now after conſultation holden, it was reſolved, that the temper of the cohort, then upon duty in the palace, ſhould be ſounded, yet not by the mouth of Galba in perſon, whoſe

whose authority was reserved in full vigour, to be applied as the last remedy upon the highest exigency. Piso, therefore, having caused them to be assembled at the foot of the stairs of the palace, accosted them on this wise:

" This is the sixth day, my fellow soldiers, since " I was adopted Cæsar, altogether ignorant of the " lot to ensue from it, whether I ought to have co- " veted, or dreaded that name. What fate this " adoption is to derive upon my family, and what " upon the Commonwealth, lies wholly in your " power to determine. Not that, in my own per- " son, I fear any of the storms of fortune, how- " ever boisterous or tragical, as having long tried " the weight and strokes of adversity, and now " thoroughly learnt, that no less perils attend upon " prosperity and exaltation. What I lament, is the " lot of my imperial Father, with that of the Se- " nate, and that of this our common Empire; if " we are this day reduced to the sad necessity ei- " ther of perishing ourselves, or, which to worthy " minds is a choice equally doleful, of causing " others to perish. In the public convulsion lately " felt, we had this consolation, that this our City " remained free from any stain or guilt of blood; " and that, without popular tumults, the revolu- " tion was accomplished. Nay, that, even after " the demise of Galba, no place or pretence might " be left for war, ample provision seemed to have " been made by his adopting me.

" To myself personally I assume no glory; I " boast not of my house, however noble, nor of " my deportment, however modest. For verily, " in a competition for merit with Otho, the dis- " play of virtues is entirely superfluous. The vices " of Otho, for in vices only he glories, confound- " ed the Empire even at a time when he was a pro- " fessed friend to the Emperor. Is it by the me-

" rit of his voluptuous life, by the pomp and dig-
" nity of his gait, or is it by his gorgeous dreſs,
" altogether ſoft and effeminate, that he would
" claim a right to Empire? Blind dupes are they,
" with whom his profuſion and extravagances paſs
" under the guiſe of generoſity. The man may
" know how to waſte and confound; but to ge-
" nuine liberality, he muſt be an utter ſtranger.
" At this inſtant his ſoul is deviſing future feats of
" luſts, rendevouſes in gluttony, and wanton re-
" vellings with bands of proſtitute women. Ex-
" ceſſes like theſe he eſteems to be the wages and
" prerogatives of princely rule; exceſſes, of which
" the fruition and charms are to redound to him
" alone, but to all men the infamy and ſhame.
" For never yet was there an inſtance of a man,
" who, by righteous meaſures, adminiſtered a ſtate,
" which, by wickedneſs and iniquity, he had ac-
" quired. The voice and conſent of human kind
" raiſed Galba to Imperial dignity; into the Im-
" perial dignity, Galba, with your conſent, in-
" grafted me.

" If the Commonweal, if the Roman Senate,
" and the People of Rome, be all no more than
" empty and imaginary names; yet ſtill it is your
" concern, my fellow ſoldiers, that by fellows of
" all others the moſt looſe and abandoned, your
" Emperor be not choſen. That our legions have
" mutinied againſt their Commanders, is what we
" have heard now and then. But your faith and
" duty and character, have ſubſiſted unto this day,
" without blemiſh or imputation. Nay, Nero
" himſelf you forſook not; you were forſaken by
" Nero. Shall a few common men, in number
" leſs than thirty, fugitives from their duty, trai-
" tors to their country, award the Empire as they
" liſt; they from whom no man would bear the
" choice of one of their own Tribunes or Centu-
" rions?

" rions? Do you approve the wicked precedent? Do
" you, by acquiescing, adopt the guilt, and render it
" common to you all? To the provinces next this
" pernicious licence will pass: And upon us indeed,
" upon Galba and me, will devolve the issue of these
" desperate treasons, but upon you that of such ruin-
" ous wars. Neither do greater earnings await such
" as involve themselves in the guilt of murdering
" their Prince, than such as preserve themselves
" guiltless. But from us you shall receive, for your
" fidelity preserved, a donative as large and sure as
" from others for parricide committed."

Those of the lifeguard-men, who bear the title of *Speculatores*, having dropped away, the rest of the Cohort manifested towards his person and reasoning no sort of distaste, or insolence, such as tumultuous conjunctures usually produce. On the contrary, they prepared their ensigns, in conformity rather to discipline, and with minds, as yet untainted with treason, than, as afterwards was believed, from counterfeit duty, and the hypocrisy of traitors. Celsus Marius was, moreover, sent to the body of men who had been detached from the Army in Illyrium, and were then lodged in the cloysters of Vipsanius. To Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, Centurions of the first rank, orders were given, to bring away from the court of the Temple of Liberty, the band of German soldiers there. Of the Legion formed from the Marines, great distrust was entertained, as of men full of vengeance for the blood of their brethren, whom Galba, even during his first entry as Emperor into Rome, had doomed to instant massacre. To the camp also of the Prætorian guards there repaired the Tribunes Cerius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, to try whether by reasons and exhortations more wholesome and righteous, the mutiny then but in its infancy, and not

yet arrived at its full inveteracy, might not be quelled, and obedience reſtored. Two of theſe Tribunes, Subrius and Cerius, the ſoldiers encountered and terrified by threats. Upon Longinus they laid violent hands, and ſtripped him of his arms, for that he came not as an officer by courſe of ſervice, but as a confident of Galba, one faithful to his Prince, and thence obnoxious to theſe traitors. The Legion of Marines, without heſitating a moment, aſſociated themſelves with the Prætorian bands. The band detached from the Illyrian army drove Celſus from amongſt them, with flights of darts. The German troops continued a great while wavering and irreſolute; men, who were in their bodies ſtill feeble, but in their minds intirely peaceable and reconciled. For as they, who had been by Nero ſent before him to Alexandria, while he meditated a journey thither, were now returned ſickly and fatigued with a courſe of ſailing ſo long and uneaſy, Galba was beſtowing conſtant and affectionate care to cheriſh and reſtore them.

The whole body of the populace, mixt with a hoſt of bondmen, were now filling the palace; all clamouring with confuſed din, to have Otho doomed to inſtant execution, and the reſt of the conſpirators to confiſcation and exile; juſt as if they had been craving for ſome public repreſentation and ſports in the Circus or Amphitheatre. Nor in truth, were they actuated by any diſcernment, by any ſincerity or affection: For the ſame mouths were ready before the cloſe of the day, to have urged the doom of Galba and his adherents, with equal contention and noiſe; but they blindly followed a cuſtom tranſmitted from reign to reign, of ſoothing any Emperor whomſoever, by applauſes uſual and extravagant, and by a diſplay of zeal utterly vain and hollow. Galba, the while, was holden in ſuſpenſe between two different counſels. It was

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propoſed by Vinius, " That the Emperor ſhould " abide within the palace, arm his ſlaves in his de- " fence, fortify the avenues, and by no means iſſue " forth amongſt men mad with rage. To the mu- " tinous he muſt allow time for remorſe; to the " well affected leiſure for intercourſe and concur- " rence. Deſperate iniquities derive force from " precipitation and rapidity. Sound counſels are " ripened and corroborated by ſlowneſs and delibe- " ration. In concluſion, were his going found " neceſſary ſome time hence, it would be ſtill even " then in his power to go. But if once he ven- " tured abroad, it would be too late to wiſh him- " ſelf at home, ſince upon the good pleaſure of " others his return muſt then depend."

All the reſt alledged " the neceſſity of diſpatch " and inſtant meaſures before the conſpiracy of a " few, as yet impotent and unſupported, had ga- " thered ſtrength and numbers. By ſuch conduct " even Otho would be ſtruck with dread, he who, " having withdrawn himſelf by ſtealth, and been " introduced amongſt men no wiſe apprized of the " deſign, was now by the heavineſs of Galba and " his party, their ſpiritleſs procraſtinations and con- " ſumption of time, taught to mimic the Sove- " reign. Far be it from them to linger on, to " await till he had eſtabliſhed in his intereſt the " whole Camp, then marched into Rome, ſeized " the Forum, and under full view of Galba, aſcend- " ed the Capitol; when at the ſame time the Empe- " ror, like a chief of ſignal proweſs, ſhuts himſelf up " with his valiant friends in the palace, and there, " ſecure as bolted gates and doors can make him, " prepares forſooth to endure a ſiege! Mighty and " notable, truly, was the aid to be expected from " an array of their ſlaves, if the union and ala- " crity of numbers ſo vaſt already, attached to his " cauſe, were neglected, and the firſt ſally of their

" resentment, a thing of infinite prevalence, were " left to cool. Whatever is dishonourable, is there- " fore unsafe: Or, if to fall were inevitable, it " was just to brave danger by meeting it: An event " from which more public odium and distaste would " accrue to Otho, and to themselves certain re- " nown." Vinius opposed this advice, and was therefore by Laco encountered with great vehemence and menaces; all at the instigation of Icelus, who was thus pursuing his personal and inveterate spite, to the calamity and overthrow of the State.

Neither did Galba deliberate longer, but yielded to those whose counsels were more plausible. Piso however was sent away before to the camp, as a young man mighty in name and reputation, distinguished with recent marks of public favour, and one possessed too with enmity to Titus Vinius. Whether he really hated the man, or whether the same were only wished by such as did: in truth, the more invidious opinion, that of his hate, was the most readily believed. Scarce had Piso left the palace, before a story spread, that Otho was slain in the camp; a story founded at first only upon a rumour, such as flew at random, and could not be traced. But forthwith, as usual in momentous lies, there appeared persons who averred, that they themselves had been upon the spot when it was done, and beheld it done: News swallowed with credulity by men who rejoiced in it, and troubled not themselves with inquiries about it. It was by many conjectured, that by some partizans of Otho, who by this time had mingled themselves with the rest, the rumour was first framed, and afterwards heightened; and that, purely to intice Galba from his retirement, they had forged and published tidings so acceptable.

Now upon this occasion, it was not the people only, with the thoughtless vulgar, who broke out into

into ſhouts and applaudings, and demonſtrations of zeal altogether extravagant; but the major part of the Senators and Roman Knights now diveſted of their fears, and therefore void of caution and reſerve, forced the gates of the palace, and ruſhing in, preſented themſelves with oſtentation before Galba, uttering ſore complaints, that the vengeance by them meditated in his behalf, was now ſnatched out of their hands. Every the moſt ſpiritleſs coward, ſuch who would be ſure to face no ſort of danger, as the event well proved, was at this juncture profuſe of words and boaſts, in tongue at leaſt magnanimous and daring. No man knew the fact, and all averred it. So that Galba, deprived of true information, and overcome with the concurring voices of men miſled themſelves and miſleading him, put on a breaſt-plate; and, finding himſelf unable, through age and bodily weakneſs, to ſuſtain the preſſing crowd, was hoiſted up in a chair. While he was yet within the palace, Julius Atticus, one of the life-guard, approached, and diſplaying a ſword all over bloody, declared with a loud voice, that by his hand Otho had been ſlain. Nor other anſwer gave Galba, than, *Brother ſoldier, whoſe orders hadſt thou?* Such was the ſignal firmneſs of his ſpirit in reſtraining the licentious inſolence of the ſoldiery, a ſpirit by no menaces to be diſmayed, and againſt the inſinuations of flattery firm and uncorrupt.

In the camp the while they had to a man ſhaken off all doubts and heſitation. Nay ſuch was the ardour they expreſſed, that to ſecure Otho with their perſons and ſeveral bands ſufficed them not; they even placed him amidſt the enſigns, upon that very Tribunal, where a little before ſtood the golden Statue of Galba, and there encompaſſed him round with banners diſplayed. Room for acceſs to his perſon the Tribunes and Centurions found none; the common ſoldiers had even given round a gene-

ral caution " to beware of all who were in com-
" mand or authority amongſt them." With fierce ſhouts, with the wild voice of uproar, and with the cries of exhortation by all given and returned, the whole place reſounded: A ſpirit no wiſe equalled by that of the people, and the vulgar, when on public occaſions they utter, in inconſtant ſtarts of acclamations, their lifeleſs flattery. Here, as faſt as they beheld any particular ſoldier approach, (for in crowds they were all approaching) they ſeized him by the hand, in all their armour embraced him, placed him faſt by their ſide, led him word by word in the oath of fidelity to Otho; this moment recommended their Emperor to the affections of the ſoldiers; the next the ſoldier to the favour of their Emperor. Neither was Otho wanting or ſlow in his part; his hand was continually preſented to the ſalute; he worſhipped the rabble, was profuſe of his kiſſes, and in order to be a Sovereign, deſcended to all the meanneſſes of a Slave. After the Legion of Marines had unanimouſly ſworn to him, he grew to confide in his ſtrength, and judged that, as he had hitherto only incited them to diſaffection man by man, it was now ſeaſonable to inflame them in a body. From the rampart therefore of the camp, he began in this ſtrain:

" Under what denomination I come forth to pre-
" ſent myſelf to you, my fellow ſoldiers, I can by
" no means declare. To entitle myſelf a private
" perſon, is what I can no more endure, ſince by
" you I have been entitled your Prince; than to
" call myſelf Sovereign whilſt another bears rule.
" Nay, by what appellation you yourſelves are to
" be diſtinguiſhed, muſt alſo continue a riddle, as
" long as it remains a controverſy, whether you
" entertain within your trenches a Roman Empe-
" ror, or an Enemy to the people of Rome. Hear
" you not, that with the ſame breath and impor-
" tunity

" tunity is demanded a bloody doom for me, and " terrible vengeance upon you? So apparent it is, " that your lot and mine is the same, either to be " secure together, or together to perish. And so " merciful is the spirit of Galba, that ere now " perhaps he has granted that cruel demand; he " who, without solicitation from any mortal man, " could doom to general massacre so many thou- " sand soldiers void of all guilt and offence. Cold " horror possesseth my soul, as often as I recal the " day of his public entry, a day so mournful and " tragical; when I recal the only victory by Gal- " ba won, that of his consigning to execution, un- " der the eyes of Rome, every tenth man of those " wretches who had already submitted, wretches " whom he had received, as supplicants, into his " faith and protection.

" Such were the unhallowed omens attended his " entry; and, after it, what instance of glory " brought he to adorn his sovereignty, other than " the blood of Obultronius Sabinus and of Cor- " nelius Marcellus, both slaughtered in Spain, that " of Betuus Chilo spilt in Gaul, that of Fonteius " Capito in Germany, that of Clodius Macer in " Africa, that of Cingonius in his march, of Tur- " pilianus in the City, and of Nymphidius in the " Camp? Through the whole extent of the Em- " pire, what Province is there, what quarter or " encampment, which is not contaminated with " slaughters, and dyed in blood, or, as he himself " boasts, chastened and reformed? For, upon deeds, " which, with all but himself, pass for barbarities, " he bestows the title of remedies and cures; whilst " by confounding the names of things, to cruelty " he gives that of severity, to sordid avarice that " of parcimony, and, under the term of discipline, " comprizes all the insults and vengeance poured " upon your heads. It is now five months since

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" the exit of Nero; and in that short space, Ice-
" lus alone has, by spoil and rapine, amassed more
" wealth than all that Polycletus, and Vatinius, and
" Elius, and the like tribe of spoilers, had accu-
" mulated during all that reign. And surely with
" less avidity, with less licentiousness had Titus Vi-
" nius ravaged, had he himself, and not Galba,
" reigned. In his present situation he hath at once
" treated us, as if we were his Subjects, with op-
" pression; and, as if we were strangers, with
" scorn. This man's house alone contains wealth
" sufficient to furnish the donative, a debt never
" offered to be paid you, yet a pretence daily to
" upbraid and revile you.

" Nay, to obviate every hope, which from the
" successor at least of Galba, we might have con-
" ceived, he has called one even from exile; such
" a one as, in abandoned avarice, and in a spirit
" gloomy and horrid, he apprehended to bear, be-
" yond all others, the nearest resemblance of him-
" self. You perceived, my fellow soldiers, by the
" late memorable tempest, how awfully the angry
" Deities withstood the sad and ill-boding adoption.
" In the Senate the same angry spirit prevails; the
" same in the people of Rome. Upon your bra-
" very and vigour it is that we next depend; as it
" is from you that every worthy design must de-
" rive its force, and as without you all designs,
" however excellent, are impotent and abortive.
" I call you not to the perils of war, nor, in truth,
" to any peril. On our side already are all the
" soldiery, I mean all that are armed. The single
" Cohort now with Galba, are not covered with
" armour, but with the long vestment of Citizens;
" nor does that single Cohort any longer guard him
" as their Prince, but only hold him as their pri-
" soner. As soon as ever they shall have espied
" you, as soon as ever they shall have received the

" ſignal from me, the only remaining ſtruggle will " be, who ſhall in this my cauſe manifeſt the higheſt " merit. Neither have we the ſmalleſt room left " for delay in purſuing ſuch a counſel as ours, which " can never meet with applauſe, till it has been firſt " accompliſhed with ſucceſs."

He then ordered the common armory to be thrown open. From it inſtantly were arms ſnatched at random, without regard had to the cuſtom of war, and the different orders of men, whence the ſoldiers of the Prætorian Cohorts and thoſe of the Legions ſhould be ſeverally ranged and diſtinguiſhed by their peculiar badges and habiliments. At preſent both ſort were with their ſhields and helmets, ſcattered and intermixed amongſt the auxiliaries. Not a Tribune, nor Centurion directed or incited them. Every man was his own Captain and Prompter; and to all the moſt miſchievous it proved a principal cauſe of alacrity, to behold the innocent ſorrowing.

Piſo, who was utterly ſcared from proceeding to the camp, by the growing uproar of the inſurrection there, and with the cries of rebellion reſounding quite to the City, had already overtaken Galba, who having in the mean time left the palace, was now approaching the Forum; and already Celſus Marius was returned with a melancholy account. In this conjuncture it was by ſome propoſed to retire back to the palace; by others to proceed and ſeize the Capitol; by ſeveral to take poſſeſſion of the place of aſſembling and haranguing the people. Many there were who only thwarted the opinions of the reſt; and, according to the fate of all deſigns where the iſſue is unhappy, ſuch counſels only were accounted beſt, as came too late, when the ſeaſon for executing them was now elapſed. It is ſaid that Laco was now, but without the privity of Galba, meditating the murder of Titus Vinius; whether by

by the doom of this man he meant to mollify the angry minds of the soldiery, or suspected him as an accomplice with Otho, or to guess no more, perhaps to satiate his own private hate. By the circumstances of the time and the place, this his purpose was first retarded; since to a slaughter once begun, difficult it would have been to set any certain bounds. Then, what utterly disconcerted his scheme, was the incessant arrival of news sad and alarming, with the hasty flight of friends and late adherents. For in one and all, their affections were growing cold, and all their zeal expiring: Such were the men, who had at first, with eminent alacrity, made boast of their magnanimity and faith inviolable.

For Galba, he was tossed hither and thither, according to every different movement and fluctuation of the unsteady multitude, while on every side, the Temples and great Halls were filled with crowds beholding the doleful spectacle. Nor by the people, nor even by the common herd, was one word uttered, or one popular cry. Full of astonishment were their looks, and their ears bent to attention, catching at every sound. There was no tumult, no composure; but such an awful stillness, as always indicates mighty dread, and mighty fury. To Otho however it was reported, that at Rome the populace were arming. Hence he gave orders, to march with rapidity, and anticipate the terrors which threatened. This sufficed the soldiers; and even the Roman soldiers advance against Rome, and, having in their way violently scattered and overthrown the populace their fellow Citizens, and trodden under foot the fathers of the Senate, rush furiously into the Forum, their horses foaming, themselves, for hostility and arms, terrible to behold; all with such impetuosity as if they had been advancing to drive Vologeses or Pacorus from the paternal throne of their ancestors and our enemies,

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the Arſacides; and not to butcher their own Emperor, unarmed as he was, and an ancient man. Nor did the view of the Capitol before them, nor the awe of the ſeveral Temples ſurrounding them, nor reverence to princes paſt, nor dread of thoſe to come, deter theſe men of blood, but perpetrate they would the horrible parricide, though ſuch a parricide, that for it the ſucceeding Emperor, whoever he happen to be, is always ſure to repay due vengeance.

He who was ſtandard-bearer to the Cohort which had remained with Galba, no ſooner perceived the body of men from the camp to approach under arms, but he (who according to tradition was Atilius Vergilio) rent from his ſtandard the effigies of Galba, and daſhed it againſt the ground. Upon ſuch a ſignal, the affections of the whole ſoldiery for Otho became apparent; the people took to immediate flight, and forſook the Forum, and againſt ſuch particulars as yet lingered and heſitated, the ſoldiers turned their lances. Near the Lake of Curtius, Galba, by the dread and trembling which poſſeſſed thoſe who carried him, was flung from his chair, and tumbled proſtrate upon the earth. Of his laſt words various are the accounts publiſhed, juſt as this man hated him, or that man admired him. By ſome it is reported, that he aſked, in the ſtile of a ſupplicant, what evil he had merited, and beſought time, only for a few days, to diſcharge their donative. Many more there are who relate, that, of his own accord, he readily preſented his throat to the aſſaſſins, bidding them "proceed "and ſtrike reſolutely, if the intereſt of the com-"monwealth ſo required." To his murderers it was of no moment or avail, whatever he ſaid. Of the very perſon who gave him the mortal blow, we have no account ſufficiently clear. Some hold it to have been Terentius, a reſumed Veteran; Others,

Others, one Lecanius. The more current tradition is, that Camurius, a common ſoldier of the fifteenth Legion, ſmote him with a ſword in the neck, and with it cut his throat. The reſt horridly hacked and mangled his legs and arms; for his breaſt was covered with armour. Nay, a ſpirit ſo brutal and inhuman tranſported them, that his body now reduced to a trunk, lifeleſs and without a head, was yet disfigured by wounds without number. Upon Titus Vinius they next diſcharged their rage; and concerning him too it remains undecided, whether, through deadly and impending terror, he were not quite bereft of ſpeech; or whether he cried not, with a loud voice, that from Otho they had no orders to ſlay him. Were what he averred really a fiction inſpired by fear; or were it, that he thus avowed his part in the conſpiracy; certain it is, that, from the baſeneſs of his life and fame, the preſumption is more rational, that he himſelf had embarked in that treaſon, for which he had adminiſtered cauſe. Before the Temple of the deified Julius he lay, maimed in the joint of the knee; for there he received his firſt wound, and preſently after was by Julius Carus, a legionary ſoldier, pierced quite through the body.

A man ſignal for faith and bravery did our age that day behold in the perſon of Sempronius Denſus, Centurion of a Prætorian Cohort, and by Galba appointed to guard the perſon of Piſo. This Officer, with his poynard drawn, ſingly encountered ſo many bloody men all armed, and boldly upbraided them as deteſtable parricides; inſomuch that, partly by his blows, partly by his reproaches, upon his own head he drew the ſwords of the aſſaſſins, and thence to Piſo procured, though he too were already wounded, opportunity to retire. Piſo eſcaped to the Temple of Veſta, and was there, by a Bondman of the State, received through compaſſion,

and

and concealed in his chamber. By thus lurking in obſcurity it was, and by no protection from the ſacredneſs of the place, or from the reverence due to rites divine, that he a while ſuſpended his impending tragedy, when there arrived two men, who, beſide their immediate orders from Otho, were of themſelves inflamed with avowed thirſt after his blood. Theſe were Sulpitius Florus, belonging to the Britiſh Bands, a man but juſt before by Galba preſented with the privilege of a Roman Citizen, and Statius Marcus, one of his life-guard. By them Piſo was dragged forth and butchered in the portal of the Temple.

Of Otho it is ſaid, that never did he receive the news of any man's blood ſpilt, with higher marks of delight; that never did he gaze upon any bloody head with eyes ſo curious and inſatiable. Whether his ſpirit were, upon this occaſion, firſt relieved from all ſolicitude, and thenceforth preſumed upon a ſeaſon of rejoicing without check or allay; or whether, from recalling to mind the Imperial Majeſty veſted in the perſon of Galba, and his own intimacy with Titus Vinius; his ſoul, however filled with vengeance, became ſtruck with horror upon the ſad repreſentation of their fate. For the murder of Piſo he believed it juſt and commendable to expreſs his joy, as for that of his enemy and competitor. Upon long poles their bleeding heads were exalted, and thus carried along amidſt the banners of the military bands, cloſe by the Eagle of a Legion; while particulars were in boaſts diſplaying their hands all imbrued with the blood; namely all they who had committed the murder, all who aſſiſted at it, and all who truly or falſly claimed ſhare in a parricide, which all magnified as a glorious feat, worthy of eternal renown. Above an hundred and twenty diſtinct memorials at this time preſented, all claiming rewards for ſome notable

able exploit by the ſeveral claimers performed on that tragical day, fell afterwards into the hands of the Emperor Vitellius, who commanded ſearch to be made for the Authors, and all of them to be put to the ſword; from no tenderneſs or regard for Galba, but out of policy common and traditional amongſt princes, as a ſecurity againſt ſuch traitors, during their own reigns, at leaſt a precedent of vengeance by them left to their ſucceſſors.

You would have now thought that you had ſeen in Rome another Senate, and another People. To a man they earneſtly crowded to the Camp, each ſtriving to outrun his fellows, each to overtake and paſs by ſuch as were before him: They condemned the conduct of Galba, magnified the judgment of the ſoldiers, kiſſed the hands of Otho; and the more hollow and counterfeit all their indications of zeal were, the more loud and numerous were the indications which they ſtrove to ſhew. Neither did Otho neglect the perſons of individuals, while, by perſuaſions and the motions of his countenance, he at the ſame time endeavoured to pacify the ſpirit of the ſoldiers breathing menaces and ravage. Already they were urging for a bloody doom to be inſtantly inflicted upon Marius Celſus, Conſul elect, and to Galba a faithful and conſtant friend, even in his laſt diſtreſs, and to the ſad cloſe of his life: They were in truth enraged at the man for his integrity and vigour of ſpirit, virtues which with them paſſed for dangerous crimes. What they aimed at was apparent, to have their hands let looſe to general pillage and maſſacre, and to bring to deſtruction every worthy and every able man in the Roman State. But in Otho authority ſufficient was not found to prohibit acts of violence; it was hitherto only in his power to ordain them to be done. So that perſonating great wrath towards Celſus, he ordered him to be put under bonds and durance, with ſtrong

ſtrong proteſtations, that for other and higher puniſhment he reſerved him; and in this manner redeemed him from a violent death juſt impending.

From this moment all things were tranſacted by the mere will and option of the ſoldiers. By them were choſen the Captains of the Prætorian guards; namely, Plotius Firmus, once a common ſoldier, then preferred to command the watch, and, even during the life and reign of Galba, embarked in the faction of Otho; with Plotius they joined Licinius Proculus, one in high confidence with Otho, and thought to have promoted his intereſt and intrigues. To the government of Rome they advanced Flavius Sabinus, in deference to the judgment of Nero, in whoſe reign he had adminiſtered the ſame office; the major part being influenced in this choice by their regard to his brother Veſpaſian. They then inſiſted importunately, that the fees wont to be by them paid to their Centurions, for exemption from certain military burdens, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; for, under this name, every poor ſoldier paid as it were, an annual tribute. Hence the fourth part of a Company at once uſed to be abſent and diſperſed, either in progreſſes upon licence, or roaming like vagrants through the Camp itſelf; and provided they could but diſcharge their bribe to the Centurion, none of them were ſolicitous about the meaſure of that heavy impoſition, or about the nature of the earnings which enabled them to bear it. So that by betaking themſelves to robbing and plundering, or by ſubmitting to vile offices, ſuch as were peculiar to ſlaves, they purchaſed a diſpenſation from the toils of ſoldiers. It was moreover a practice to perſecute every ſoldier noted for wealth, by ſubjecting him continually to hard labour and mercileſs ſtripes, till he were forced to buy a diſpenſation at a price: Then, when by theſe exactions he was quite exhauſted and impoveriſhed;

veriſhed; nay, when by long exemption from duty, he was alſo become enſlaved to lazineſs and ſloth, he returned home to his Company a different man, reduced from plenty to miſerable indigence, and now as liſtleſs and inactive, as before he was vigorous and hardy. And as there were many who had ſucceſſively undergone the like change, been debauched by ſuch wild immunity, and excited by ſuch pinching neceſſity; they were always ready to run headlong into ſedition, diſſention, and at laſt into civil wars. But Otho, that he might not eſtrange from him the affections of the Centurions, by ſuch remiſſion and bounty conferred upon the common ſoldiers, undertook, out of his own revenue, yearly to pay the fees of ſuch exemptions; a regulation doubtleſs of notable benefit, and by ſuch good princes as came after, perpetuated as part of the military eſtabliſhment. Laco, Captain of the guards to Galba, as if no more than his baniſhment was intended, was condemned to an iſland; but murdered by a reſumed Veteran, whom Otho had ſent before him, with orders for his aſſaſſination. Upon Icelus, as he was only a ſlave manumiſed, public execution was formally done.

When in a ſeries of iniquities ſo tragical the whole day was ſpent, the concluding evil was that of public rejoicing. The City Prætor aſſembles the Senate. The other Magiſtrates contend to ſurpaſs each other in flights of flattery. The Fathers run with rapidity to aſſemble. To Otho is decreed the authority Tribunitial, the name of Auguſtus, and every other honour enjoyed by preceding Emperors. For they now jointly laboured to obliterate the many invectives and contumelies which they had in common poured forth againſt him; indignities which no man could perceive to have made any angry impreſſions upon his ſpirit. Whether he had quite dropt all reſentment, or only poſtponed his ven-

vengeance, such was the shortness of his reign, that no certain judgment could be formed. When over the Forum, still flowing with blood, and through heaps of the slain, Otho had been carried to the Capitol, and thence to the palace, he granted leave to burn and bury the corses. The remains of Piso were, by his wife Verania, and his brother Scribonianus, committed to the quiet of the grave; as were those of Titus Vinius, by his daughter Crispina; after they had found out and redeemed their heads, which their murderers had retained for sale.

Piso had entered into the thirty first year of his age, much happier in his fame than in his fortune. His brother Magnus had fallen by the cruelty of Claudius, his brother Crassus by that of Nero. He himself had lived a long time in the state of exile, but four days in that of a Prince; and, by the late adoption, so suddenly made, gained no other advantage over his elder brother than that of being first slain. Titus Vinius had passed fifty-seven years in a course of manners unequal and diversified. His father was of a Prætorian family; his mother's father one of those proscribed by the Triumvirate. In his very first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus he was branded with infamy. For the wife of that General, moved with a preposterous fondness to view the situation of the camp, entered the same in the night under the habit of a soldier; and having there, with the like wanton curiosity, adventured to pry into the manner of the guard, and of the other functions military, at last confidently perpetrated the act of adultery in the very quarter sacred to the Roman Eagles and Banners; and Titus Vinius was arraigned as her partner in this crime. By order therefore of the Emperor Caligula, he was put in irons and confinement, but by the change of times soon enlarged, and thenceforth passed

through

through a ſucceſſion of public employments, with a character free from reproach. At the cloſe of his Prætorſhip, he was preferred to the command of a Legion, and in it acquitted himſelf with applauſe. He was afterwards ſtained with an imputation altogether infamous, and worthy only of a ſlave, to have purloined a goblet of gold, while he was entertained, with other company, at the table of Claudius; inſomuch, that on the day following, Claudius diſtinguiſhed him from all the reſt of his gueſts, by ordering that Vinius only ſhould be ſerved in an earthen cup. Yet the ſame Vinius ruled the province of Narbon Gaul, in quality of Proconſul, with juſtice unbiaſſed and eminent integrity. Soon after, his intimacy with Galba having led him to a precipice where his fall overtook him, he proved daring, ſubtle, prompt, and, according as he choſe to apply his ſpirit, was with equal ardour vicious and depraved, or vigilant and active. The Teſtament made by Vinius was, through the mightineſs of his wealth, of none effect. The laſt Will of Piſo, his poverty rendered valid.

The corpſe of Galba, after it had lain long neglected in the ſtreets, and, during the licentiouſneſs of the night, ſuffered inſults and indecencies without number or meaſure, was by Argius, one of his principal bondmen, bearing the office of Steward, repoſited in a mean grave, within his own gardens. His head, miſerably mangled, and ſtuck upon a pole by a rabble of the vile ſcullions and attendants of the camp, was by them erected before the tomb of Patrobius, a manumiſed ſlave of Nero's, and by the authority of Galba executed. Here it was at length found on the day following, and laid with the remains of his body which had been already burnt. Such was the end of Galba, in the ſeventy-third year of his life; after having paſſed through the reigns of five Princes, in a courſe of fortune abun-

abundantly proſperous, and under the ſovereignty of others happier than in his own. Signally ancient was the nobility of his houſe, mighty the wealth. In himſelf were found talents no other than moderate, and he was rather free from vices, than endowed with many virtues. Fame was what he no wiſe deſpiſed, yet never ſtudied to blazon his own. No man's money did he covet, was ſparing of his own; of the public money greedy and tenacious. Towards his Friends and Freedmen, when chance directed him to ſuch as were good, he was ever paſſive and reſigned, without all check and contradiction; and to all their iniquities, where they proved to be bad, blind even to his own ſcandal and diſgrace. But ſuch was the ſplendor of his race, and ſuch the terrible ſpirit of thoſe times, that, by his eſcaping them, a colour was miniſtered for beſtowing the name of real wiſdom upon that which in him was real heavineſs. During the vigour of his years he commanded with ſignal renown in the German wars. He afterwards governed Africa, as Proconſul, with moderation and gentleneſs; as now, in the latter part of his life, he had ruled the nethermoſt Spain, with the like meaſure of juſtice. For greater than a ſubject he ſeemed, while he was yet no more than a ſubject; and, in the opinion of all men, had paſſed as capable of Empire, had he never been Emperor.

To the City already full of conſternation, at once ſtruck with the horror of the recent parricide, and dreading the ſpirit and known vices of Otho, there accrued freſh cauſe of affright from the tidings concerning Vitellius; tidings which, before the murder of Galba, were ſuppreſſed, with deſign to have it believed, that only the army in higher Germany had revolted. Upon this occaſion, it became matter of open lamentation, not to the Senate alone and Equeſtrian Order, men who had ſome ſhare in

the adminiſtration, and ſome concern for the public weal, but even to the mean People; that two men, of all others the moſt infamous for pollution, effeminacy and profuſion, were thus fatally choſen, as it were on purpoſe, to rend and deſtroy the Empire. Nor did they now any longer recount the inſtances of cruelty, ſtill recent, perpetrated during the late times of peace and tyranny: But reviving the memory and terrors of the civil wars, they repreſented "Rome ſo often taken by her "own hoſtile armies, the deſolation of Italy, the "Provinces ravaged, the battles of Pharſalia and "Philippi, with the ſieges of Peruſia and Mo-"dena;" Names ſignal for public calamities and ſlaughter. "In a ſtruggle for the Sovereignty "even among men of renown, it was urged that "the whole earth was well nigh turned upſide "down. Yet under the prevailing fortune of Ju-"lius Cæſar the Empire ſubſiſted; it ſubſiſted un-"der that of Auguſtus: Under Pompey too and "Brutus the Republic would have ſubſiſted. "Would they, at this time, repair to the "Temples for Otho, or for Vitellius? Alike "impious would be the ſupplications for either, "alike deteſtable the vows; ſince ſuch men they "both were, that by the iſſue of the war between "them, nothing elſe was to be learnt, than that "whichſoever of the two proved the Conqueror, "would thence prove the worſt." There were thoſe who formed prognoſtications concerning Veſpaſian, and the forces in the Eaſt; and, as Veſpaſian excelled them both, another war was dreaded, and additional calamities. Moreover, with the Public, Veſpaſian ſtood but in dubious eſtimation, and, of all thoſe who had been Emperors, was in truth the only one by power changed for the better.

I now proceed to a display of the rise and causes of the commotion and revolt begun by Vitellius. When Julius Vindex was, with all his forces, slain, the conquering army, grown unruly and imperious upon such an acquisition of glory and spoil; as to their share the victory had fallen, without pains or peril, in a war extremely lucrative; became eager for action, and feats of war, and fonder of rapine than of their usual stipend. They had besides long endured a service void of gain, and full of rigour, as well from the bleakness of the country, and keenness of the air, as from the severe exercise of discipline; which, though it be preserved during peace with a strictness ever so unrelenting, never fails to be dissolved by intestine wars; since on both sides are always found busy instruments of corruption, and the violation of faith and duty escapes all correction. Of men, and arms, and horses they had abundant store, both for service and for shew. But before the beginning of the war, they knew only their own particular companies, and their own troops of horse; for the armies were separated from each other by the boundaries of the several Provinces. It was to make head against Vindex that the Legions were drawn together; and having then tried their own strength, and that of the Gauls, they fought earnestly to revive once more the tumult of war, and to create fresh quarrels. Nor did they treat them as formerly with the title of Allies, but with that of Enemies, and of a people subdued by the sword. Nay, they were abetted by those of the Gauls who dwell along the Banks of the Rhine, and having adhered to the fortune and party of the Army, were now vehemently inciting them against the *Galbians*; for upon their countrymen they had bestowed this name, disdaining to mention that of Vindex. Filled therefore with rage towards the Sequanians, and the Eduans,

and towards other Cities, according to the measure of their wealth, they grasped in imagination future booty, from towns sacked, from the devastation of countries, and the plunder of private dwellings. Besides their being prompted by notable rapaciousness and arrogance, the two leading vices of such as are strongest, they were provoked by the pride and defiance found in the behaviour of the Gauls, who boasted, that in contempt of the army, they were by Galba released from a fourth of their Tribute, and distinguished with the rights and privileges of Roman Citizens. To all this there accrued a current report, maliciously raised, and rashly believed, that the Legions were doomed to decimation, and every Centurion noted for being brave and daring, to be cashiered. From every quarter were arriving news tragical and alarming. Sad and discouraging were the tidings from Rome. The Colony too of Lyons, who were sorely disaffected to Galba, and immoveable in their adherence to Nero, proved a continual source of wild and flying rumours. But within the camp itself was found most ample matter for fiction and credulity, from the bitterness and hate of the soldiery, from their consciousness and dread, and even from the security which, upon a review of their own forces, they conceived.

About the very first of December in the preceding year, Aulus Vitellius had entered the Lower Germany, and with great accuracy visited the winter quarters of the Legions there. To their ranks he restored numbers who had been degraded; many he redeemed from ignominious punishments, and cancelled the marks of infamy inflicted upon others. Some regulations he made through judgment; but most with a corrupt view to popularity. Among the former must be reckoned his abolishing with so much integrity, what Fontelius Capito had done, in

in preferring and degrading particulars from the motives of avarice, and ſordid gain. Neither were theſe his proceedings eſtimated barely according to the meaſure of his office, that of a General of Conſular quality; but whatever he did, paſſed under a higher conſideration. And for Vitellius himſelf, as by ſuch who judged ſeverely, he was accounted but a mean perſon; his friends and adherents, on the contrary, while he was giving away his own fortune, and laviſhing in bounties that of others, without meaſure, without diſcernment, beſtowed upon this extravagance and ſpoil the title of complaiſance and good nature. Add that, from a violent thirſt of bearing rule, into virtues they conſtrued the moſt manifeſt vices. In both armies, as there were many peaceable and modeſt, ſo were there many wicked and reſolute. But abandoned to licentious purſuits, and ſignal in precipitancy, were two Commanders of Legions, Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens. The latter particularly was highly diſguſted with Galba, alledging, that his ſervices in detecting the reſerves and heſitation of Verginius, and in ſtifling the machinations of Capito, had been by Galba paſſed over with ingratitude. Hence he inſtigated Vitellius, and magnified to him "the ar-
"dour and ready zeal of the ſoldiery; that his
"own name was every where mentioned with re-
"nown. From Hordeonius Flaccus no obſtruction
"would be found. Britain would accede to his
"party. The auxiliary forces of the Germans
"would join. Ill aſſured was the faith of the Pro-
"vinces. Tottering and precarious was the So-
"vereignty of the Old-man, and would quickly
"paſs from him. Let Vitellius only open his arms
"and advance to receive his approaching fortune.
"With reaſon had Verginius heſitated to accept
"the Empire, a man deſcended only from an equeſ-
"trian family, from a father never known by any

" office. Had he accepted it, he would have prov-
" ed unequal to it; and might live in safety after
" he had refused it. Vitellius sprung from a fa-
" ther who had sustained three Consulships, with
" the awful office of Censor, and had been Col-
" legue in the Consulship with Claudius. Such
" paternal dignities had long since raised him to the
" elevation of an Emperor, and deprived him of all
" security in the station of a subject."

His spirit, naturally heavy and slow, was so far agitated by such representations, as to covet the Diadem rather than to hope for it. In the higher Germany, Cæcina had intirely captivated the affections of the soldiers, as he was graceful and young, large in his person, of a soul which fostered designs without bounds, his gait noble and stately, and himself a prompt and lively speaker. This young man, exercising the office of Quæstor in that province of Spain called *Bætica*, had revolted immediately to Galba, who thence preferred him to the command of a Legion; but soon after having discovered that he had embezzled the common treasure, ordered him to be prosecuted as one guilty of robbing the Public. Cæcina resenting this heinously, determined to excite a spirit of universal confusion and revolt, and with the miseries of the state to cover his own private wounds. Neither in the army itself were there wanting seeds of tumult and discord. For in the war against Vindex they had been all to a man engaged; nor, till after Nero was slain, could they be induced to transfer their allegiance to Galba. The troops too of Lower Germany had the merit of having taken the oath of fidelity before them. Moreover, contiguous and intermixed with the winter quarters of the Legions lay the territories of the Treverians and the Lingones, and such other communities as had been by Galba aggrieved with severe edicts, or deprived of their

their wonted bounds. Hence arose seditious communications between them; as also the corruption of the soldiery, increased by their intercourse with these townsmen and peasants; and hence too that devotion of theirs to Verginius was now at the service of any other Candidate.

The Community of the Lingones had, in observance of antient custom, sent gifts to the Legions, and the compliment of their right hands presented, in token of affection and hospitality. Now their Deputies, who in their persons and countenances bore the studied marks of miserable distress and anguish, took all occasions, both in the tents of the soldiers, and in the quarters assigned for the Eagles and arms of every particular Legion, to bewail by turns their own hardships and oppressions, and the favour and advantages conferred upon the other neighbouring Communities. And as soon as they found that these their infusions were swallowed with attention and eagerness, they proceeded to bemoan the lot of the army itself, the perils which surrounded them, with their opprobrious usage; and thus inflamed the minds of the men. They were in truth just ripe for a present insurrection, when Hordeonius Flaccus ordered the Deputies to depart, and, that their departure might be the more secret, to leave the camp by night. Hence a furious rumour ensued, that they were murdered. This was what the most part affirmed, and added, that unless they took sure measures for their own defence and preservation, the certain consequence would be, that all the bravest and most vigilant soldiers, and such as had dared to complain of the present evils, would be massacred in the dark, apart from the sight and observation of their brethren. Presently the Legions bind themselves in a mutual and secret confederacy, and in it the auxiliary soldiers are comprized; men whom at first they suspected of preparing to

fall upon the Legions themſelves thus revolting, after having ſurrounded them with the body of their cohorts, and their wings of horſe. But anon theſe auxiliaries appeared more clamorous and vehement than the reſt. So much more eaſily procured, amongſt men of evil minds, is a concurrence in rage and war, than in quietneſs and unanimity during peace.

In Lower Germany, the Legions on the firſt of January performed the ſolemnity of ſwearing allegiance to Galba, drawn to it indeed by compulſion; and with infinite backwardneſs and heſitation they did it Faint and few were the cries of loyalty and applauſe, and theſe only uttered by ſome in the foremoſt ranks. The reſt continued mute, every particular expecting with impatience from him who ſtood neareſt, ſome daring effort of diſaffection and treaſon; agreeably to the natural bent of men, to follow greedily in ſuch purſuits as they are greatly averſe to begin. The Legions too were animated by different humours. The firſt and the fifth were ſo turbulent and outrageous, that amongſt them ſome were found who aſſaulted the images of Galba with ſtones. The fifteenth and ſixteenth had not yet ventured beyond menaces and the uproar of words, but were watching with ſpecial attention for a beginning and precedent of mutiny and violence. But, in the higher army the fourth Legion, and the eighteenth, both abiding in the ſame winter quarters, did, even on the firſt of January, break in pieces the images of Galba: An outrage in which the fourth manifeſted the greater fury. The eighteenth ſhewed ſome heſitation, but preſently joined with the former. And leſt, by this act, they might ſeem to have renounced all reverence for the Emperor, they recalled and took the oath of fidelity to the antiquated names of the Senate and people of Rome. Nor was there one Tribune

or

or one Commander of the Legions found to exert himself in behalf of Galba. Nay, some of these officers practised what is usual during such madness and confusion, and added notably to the uproar. No man however appeared to harrangue the multitude, or took upon him the authority of applying to them from a Tribunal. For as yet no particular person could be singled out to bear the name and weight of the commotion.

It is true Hordeonius Flaccus was upon the spot; a General of Consular authority was a beholder of this detestable treason and revolt, yet durst neither restrain such as were already rushing into rebellion, nor recover such as were only wavering, nor rouse and animate those who still persevered in their integrity; but remained spiritless, terrified, and only through stupidity innocent. There were four Centurions who would have protected the images of Galba, but were by the furious soldiers seized and confined in chains. These were Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus; all belonging to the eighteenth Legion. Further than this in none of them was found or faith, or duty, or the memory of their former oaths. But it happened in this as in other insurrections; whither the many led, all the rest blindly followed. On the night which followed the same day, the Eagle-bearer of the fourth Legion, arriving at Cologn, acquainted Vitellius, whilst he was banquetting, that the fourth Legion and the eighteenth had thrown down the images of Galba, and plighted their fidelity to the Senate and People of Rome: An oath which to him and his friends appeared void and invalid. It was therefore determined to fix and ascertain fortune while she was thus shifting, and to make these Legions the Tender of an Emperor. Forthwith messengers were dispatched from Vitellius, to acquaint the Legions

of the lower Province, and their Commanders, "That the higher Army had revolted from Galba; "insomuch that they must either make war upon "the revolters; or if they rather preferred peace "and coalition, must create an Emperor. Indeed "with much less peril they might presently elect a "Prince, than continue in search of one."

The winter quarters of the first Legion lay nearest, and with it Fabius Valens the Commander, more keen and zealous than all the rest. This officer entered into Cologn the very next day, accompanied with the cavalry of his Legion, and those of the auxiliaries, openly saluted Vitellius *Emperor*. His example was followed by the Legions of the same province with mighty haste and competition; and the upper Army, having already relinquished the plausible names of the Senate and People of Rome, acceded so early as the third of January to the party of Vitellius: It was now apparent, that to the free Roman State they were no wise devoted during the two preceding days. Equal to the ardour and zeal of the armies was that of the Treverians, of the Lingones, and of the inhabitants of Cologn; all making offer of supplies of men, of horses, of treasure, each according to the measure of his power and sufficiency, either in person, or wealth, or of capacity and address. Neither was such liberality confined to the leading men of these Colonies, or to those of the Camp, men who enjoyed present abundance, and who from victory once gained conceived hopes of ample earnings: The common men too, the poor soldiers, they who were destitute of money, instead of it surrendered their travelling subsistence, their girdles, the trappings of their horses, and the silver ornaments upon their armour; all led by impulse, by headlong passion, and even by avarice.

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Vitellius therefore, after he had extolled the zeal and alacrity of the ſoldiers, diſpoſed of the ſeveral charges depending on the Sovereignty; charges which were wont to be adminiſtred by the Imperial Freedmen, but now by him conferred upon Roman Knights. The fees exacted from the ſoldiers by the Centurions for exemptions from duty, he ordered to be paid out of his own Treaſure as Emperor. The cruel vengeance of the ſoldiers, in craving the doom and execution of particulars, he in many inſtances humoured; and in ſome inſtances defeated, under colour of committing the obnoxious perſons to priſon. Pompeius Propinquus, Governor of the Province of Belgica, was put to preſent death. By an artifice he redeemed from their rage the perſon of Julius Burdo, Commander of the naval Forces in Germany. Againſt him the fury of the army raged, as they believed that through his miſchievous devices Fonteius Capito had been brought firſt to rebel, and then to periſh. Dear to them was the memory of Capito; and ſuch beſides was their thirſt of vengeance and blood, that to ſlay and execute in the face of the day, was with them matter of licence; but to protect and ſhew mercy there was no way other than that of deceiving them. Thus was Burdo ſecured in priſon, and, afterwards upon the victory obtained by Vitellius, diſcharged, when the malice of the ſoldiers was diſſipated. In the mean while, Criſpinus the Centurion was preſented to their fury, as a proper victim for expiation; he who had ſtained himſelf with the blood of Capito. For this cauſe, as he was, to the ſoldiers who required his execution, a criminal the more ſignally notorious; ſo he was to Vitellius who awarded it, an object the more vile and deſpicable. The next threatened was Julius Civilis, but delivered from all peril, as, amongſt his countrymen the Batavians, he was a man of prevailing

credit and popularity; and left by his doom that nation so wild and fierce might have been provoked to enmity. In truth there then lay in the country of the Lingones eight Cohorts of Batavians, appertaining, as auxiliaries, to the fourteenth Legion; but through the commotion and distraction of the times, retired from it; a body of men of infinite weight and availment, either as enemies or confederates. To execution Vitellius doomed Nonius, Donatius, Romillius and Calpurnius, the four Centurions lately mentioned, all condemned for adhering to their faith and duty; a crime ever thought most heinous by such as have renounced both. To this party there joined themselves Valerius Asiaticus, the Emperor's Lieutenant in the Province of Belgica, he upon whom Vitellius afterwards bestowed his daughter; and Junius Blæsus, Governor of that part of Gaul which derives its name from the City of Lyons; together with the Italic Legion, and the band of horse intitled *Taurina*, both encamped at Lyons. Neither did the forces in Rhætia procrastinate, but forthwith went over to his side; nor even from those in Britain was there any hesitation found.

Over Britain Trebellius Maximus then bore rule, a man for his avarice and infamous corruption despised and detested by the army. This hate of theirs was daily heightened and inflamed by Roscius Cælius, Commander of the twentieth Legion; one who towards him had long lived in a state of strife and opposition. But now by the eruption of the civil war, their mutual enmity broke forth more implacably. Upon Cælius, the General charged the raising of sedition, and that he had utterly broken all discipline in the army. Against the General, Cælius urged that he had plundered and impoverished the Legions. And, in the mean while, through the scandalous disputes and competition

tition between the Chiefs, the behaviour of the army, otherwiſe modeſt, became quite depraved; and to ſuch a tumult the conteſt aroſe, that Trebellius, finding himſelf aſſaulted by many reproaches from the auxiliary ſoldiers alſo, and perceiving all the Cohorts and Bands of horſe to aſſociate themſelves with Cælius, fled, in this forlorn ſtate, to Vitellius. Yet the tranquillity of the Provinces ſubſiſted, though the Governor veſted with Conſular dignity was gone. The adminiſtration was performed by the Commanders of the Legions, by their office all equal in authority; but Cælius by ſuperior boldneſs gained ſuperior ſway.

Vitellius upon the acceſſion of the army in Britain to his party, become mighty in forces and treaſure, appointed two Generals to conduct the war, and to each General aſſigned a different route. To Fabius Valens he gave orders to ſooth and draw over the Gauls, or, if he could not perſuade them, then to over-run them by ſpoil and devaſtation, and by that part of the Alps which bears the name of *Cottian*, make an irruption into Italy. Cæcina was ordered to advance thither by a nearer way, and to paſs over the mountains called *Penini*. To Valens was committed the flower of the lower Army, with the Eagle of the fifth Legion, and the Cohorts and Bands of horſe, to the number of forty thouſand fighting men. From the higher Germany Cæcina led thirty thouſand, of which the principal ſtrength conſiſted in one Legion, namely the twenty-firſt. Upon both Generals were beſtowed bodies of auxiliary Germans. From theſe two it was that Vitellius drew reinforcements for his own troops, with whom he was to follow and ſupport the whole weight of the war.

Wonderful was found the difference between the ſpirit of the army, and that of the Emperor. The ſoldiers were urgent for action, and required to be

put

put under arms, " whilſt dread ſtill poſſeſſed the " Gauls, whilſt Spain remained in heſitation and " ſuſpence. The winter ſeaſon was no obſtruction; " nor was there any to be admitted from the ſtu- " pid deliberations about peace. They muſt in- " vade Italy; they muſt ſeize Rome. In civil " commotions nothing was ſo ſecure as diſpatch, " ſince then leſs neceſſary was counſel than exe- " cution." Vitellius continued lifeleſs and ſtupi- fied, only in voluptuous ſloth, and conſuming ban- quets, perſonating a prince; as if in luxury and profuſion the meaſure and functions of Sovereignty had laid. By the middle of the day he was always intoxicated with wine, gorged with feaſting, un- wieldy, and unmoveable. But ſuch was the zeal and vigour of the ſoldiers, that of themſelves they ſupplied all the duties of the Leader, as effectually as if he had attended himſelf, and in perſon animated the brave by hopes, the daſtardly by fear. As ſoon as they were drawn out and armed, they demanded with earneſtneſs, that the ſignal might be given for marching; ſtyling him by the name of Ger- manicus, to which they ſubjoined his own of Vi- tellius. For even after he was victorious, he for- bad giving him the appellation of *Cæſar*. To Fa- bius Valens, and the army which he was thus lead- ing forth to the war, on the very day they com- menced their march, there appeared a joyful pre- ſage, that of an Eagle, which meaſuring his mo- tion by that of the Hoſt, glided gently along, and flew juſt before, as if he purpoſely guided the way. Such too, for a large ſpace of time, were the joyful ſhouts uttered by the ſoldiers, ſuch the ſteady motion of the undiſmayed bird, that thence was inferred a manifeſt omen of an iſſue grand and ſucceſsful.

And in truth they advanced with aſſurance to the territories of Treves, as to thoſe of a friendly State.

But

But at Divodurum, a city of the Mediomatricians, though they were there received with every degree of frankneſs and complaiſance, a ſudden pannic ſeized them, and in an inſtant they graſped their arms, with deſign to maſſacre the unoffending city; not for the ſake of pillage, or from the luſt of ſpoil, but from fury and madneſs, and cauſes unknown, and thence the more difficult to be remedied and removed; till aſſuaged at laſt by the intreaties of their General, they forbore purſuing the utter deſtruction of the city. There were ſlaughtered, however, to the number of four thouſand men: An example of terror, which alarmed all the reſt of Gaul; inſomuch that thenceforward intire cities, when the army approached them, went forth to meet it, accompanied with their magiſtrates, and tendering the petitions of ſupplicants. Along the ways, in humble poſtures, were ſtrewed their children and wives: and every other art, every perſuaſive, proper to ſoften the rage of a foe, was offered; not that they were really engaged in a war, but purely to be allowed the privilege of peace.

In the Capital of the Leucians Fabius Valens received tidings of the murder of Galba, and that the Sovereignty was devolved upon Otho. Nor did the news move the ſpirit of the ſoldiers either to grief or joy, as they were only intent upon war. From the Gauls all cauſe of heſitation in favour of Galba, was now taken away. Towards Otho and Vitellius they bore equal hate; and were moreover poſſeſſed with dread of Vitellius. The next State was that of the Lingones, a people attached to the party of Vitellius. There the army was kindly received, and ſtrove to return the civility by equal complaiſance. But this chearful harmony proved ſhort, through the turbulent behaviour of thoſe Cohorts which, having withdrawn themſelves from the fourteenth Legion, as above I have remembered,

had been by Fabius Valens incorporated with his own forces. Between theſe Cohorts, who were Batavians, and the Legionary ſoldiers, at firſt reproachful words aroſe; words were preſently followed by a tumult. And while the other ſoldiers, according to their different partialities, eſpouſed oppoſite ſides, the contention waxed ſo hot, that a battle muſt have immediately enſued, had not Valens, by puniſhing a few particulars, recalled the Batavians, who had forgot all authority, to a ſenſe of their duty. In vain was cauſe of war fought againſt the Æduans: for being commanded to furniſh a ſupply of money and arms, they, of their own accord, added one of proviſions without price. What the Æduans had done out of fear, the inhabitants of Lyons did through joy. From thence however was withdrawn the Italic Legion, and the Squadron of horſe entitled *Taurina*. But at Lyons it was judged proper to leave the eighteenth Cohort; as in quarters where they had been uſed to winter. Manlius Valens, commander of the Italic Legion, though he had truly ſerved the cauſe, yet remained without favour or diſtinction from Vitellius. Fabius had blaſted him with ſecret defamations, ignorant as he was of ſuch devices; and to render Manlius the more ſecure and unguarded, whilſt he thus circumvented him, always applauded him openly.

The animoſities ſo long ſubſiſting between the people of Lyons and thoſe of Vienne, had been by the late war inflamed. Hence many bloody routs and calamities on both ſides, more frequent and furious than if they had fought only for the intereſts of Nero and Galba. In truth, Galba, moved by his diſpleaſure, had converted to his own Exchequer the revenues of the Lyoneſe; and, on the contrary, had treated thoſe of Vienne with ſignal marks of favour: This became the root of emulation and envy between two people linked together in mutual

tual hatred, and only ſeparated by a river. They of Lyons therefore ſet themſelves to animate the ſoldiers man by man, and to incite them to exterminate thoſe of Vienne. They urged that this their Colony had been by them beſieged; that they had aided the conſpiracy and attempts of Vindex, and lately levied Legions for the ſupport of Galba. And when they had diſplayed theſe plauſible motives for hate and hoſtility, they ſhewed and extolled to the ſoldiers the mighty and extenſive ſpoil which awaited them. Nor did they any longer confine themſelves to ſecret exhortations to particular ſoldiers, but publickly beſought them in a body, "That they "would march in purſuit of juſt vengeance, that "they would raze and extinguiſh the ſeat and nur- "ſery of the war in Gaul; a nurſery which con- "tained none but foreigners and foes. For them- "ſelves, they were a Roman Colony, and part of "the army, and their inſeparable confederates in "all events proſperous or diſaſtrous. Now if For- "tune ſhould chance to prove froward, they begged "that they might not be left expoſed to the rage of "their implacable enemies."

By theſe inſtigations, and many more in the ſame ſtrain, they incenſed the men ſo effectually, that even the Commanders of the Legions, and their other Leaders, judged it impoſſible to quell the wrath of the army; when the inhabitants of Vienne, well apprized of their impending peril, covered their heads with doleful and religious veils, and accoſting the army as they marched, in the mournful guiſe of ſupplicants, embraced their armour, their knees, their feet, and thus mollified the animoſity of the ſoldiers. Beſides the force of theſe ſupplications, Valens added a donative of three hundred ſeſterces *(a)* a man. Then it was that reverence for the

* *Betwixt 9 and 10 Crowns.*

dignity

dignity of the Colony, and its ancient eſtabliſhment, prevailed; and then was the diſcourſe of Fabius, who to the army recommended the ſecurity and preſervation of the Vienneſe, received with favour and attention. They were ſentenced, however, to ſurrender the arms belonging to their State; and to aſſiſt the ſoldiers with proviſions, every man contributed his ſhare, according to what he had. But the prevailing rumour was, "That the people "of Vienne had bought over Valens with an im-"menſe ſum of money." This man, one long ſordidly poor, then on a ſudden become rich, did but ill diſguiſe the haſty change of his fortune. As his appetites had been whetted and inflamed by a long courſe of penury, his riot and exceſſes were boundleſs; and having ſpent his younger years in eminent indigence, he abandoned himſelf to notorious prodigality in his old age. From thence in a ſlow progreſs, the army was led through the territories of the Allobrogians and Vocontians; while upon every march which he made, upon every ſhifting of his camp, the General conſtantly ſet a price; and with the proprietors of the ſeveral lands, with the magiſtrates of the ſeveral cities, ſtruck infamous bargains for favour and exemption. This he did with ſuch open confidence and menaces, that he ordered Lucus, a municipal town of the Vocontians, to be ſet on fire, till by money he was appeaſed. As often as money failed, he was ſoftened by a preſent of women, and by ſacrifices to his luſt. Marching in this manner, he arrived at the Alps.

Cæcina rioted in greater ſpoil, and in more blood. His ſpirit, naturally tempeſtuous and fierce, was exaſperated by the Helvetians, a nation of the Gauls; one renowned of old for men and arms, and afterwards only ſignal for reputation paſt. The Helvetians were not apprized of the tragical end of Galba, and refuſed to own the Sovereignty of Vitellius.

lius. But the commencement of the war proceeded from the eagerneſs and rapacity of the twenty-firſt Legion, who had violently ſeized as plunder, the money which the Helvetians were ſending to pay the gariſon of a fort, which for a long time paſt they had maintained with their own men and money. The Helvetians, who bore this heinouſly, cauſed to be intercepted the letters, which in the name of the German Army, were carrying to the Legions in Pannonia, and made priſoners of a Centurion and ſome ſoldiers. Cæcina, who longed paſſionately for war, proceeded always to take vengeance for every offence, within his reach, as faſt as it was committed, before the offender could have time to claim the merit of remorſe and ſubmiſſion. In an inſtant he decamped and marched, laid the whole country waſte, and ſacked a fine place, magnificently built during a long peace, in imitation of a large municipal city, and greatly frequented for the ſake of its charming and ſalubrious Baths. He likewiſe diſpatched expreſſes into Rhætia, with orders to the auxiliaries of that country, to fall upon the Helvetians in the rear, while they made head againſt the forces of the Legion.

The Helvetians, ſo fierce and daring while danger was at a diſtance, were ſtruck and terrified when it arrived. Upon the firſt alarm, indeed, they had choſen a Leader, Claudius Severus. But they knew not the uſe of their arms, knew not how to keep their ranks, nor how to purſue any united counſel for the benefit of the whole. Pernicious they thought muſt be the trial of a battle againſt troops ſo regular and experienced; and it was utterly unſafe to abide a ſiege within walls that were ruinous and old. Here they ſtood expoſed to Cæcina with a powerful Army; there to the Cohorts and Squadrons of horſe from Rhætia. The Rhætian Youth too were inured to arms, and diligently trained in the

the diſcipline of war. On every ſide they were beſet with devaſtation and ſlaughter. In the midſt of all this diſtreſs and terror, running hither and thither, and caſting away their arms, they fled at laſt to the mountain Vocetius, the moſt part of them wounded, or in utter diſarray. From thence too they were inſtantly driven by a band of Thracians purpoſely ſent; and, as the Germans alſo and Rhætians purſued them, they were all ſlaughtered amongſt the woods, and even in their own lurking holes. Many thouſands were cut off, and many thouſands ſold to bondage. As the army, after having committed univerſal ravage and ſpoil, were now marching in order of battle towards Aventicum, the metropolis of the country, deputies from thence were diſpatched to offer a ſurrender of the city, and the ſurrender was accepted. Upon Julius Alpinus, Cæcina cauſed capital puniſhment to be inflicted, as upon one who had ſtirred up the war. To the judgment of Vitellius, whether the ſame proved cruelty or mercy, he remitted all the reſt.

Eaſy it is not to aſſert, which of the two, the Emperor or the ſoldiers, the Helvetian Embaſſadors found moſt implacable and unrelenting The ſoldiers inſiſted that the city ſhould be utterly demoliſhed, and, with menacing hands and weapons, inſulted the Embaſſadors in the face. Nor did Vitellius refrain from threats and reproaches; till Claudius Coſſus, one of the Embaſſadors, a man of noted eloquence, but now concealing his faculty of perſuading under an aſſumed and artful tremor, and thence perſuading the more powerfully, calmed and aſſuaged the animoſity of the ſoldiers. Such is the genius of the vulgar, ever ſubject to ſudden ſhiftings of their paſſions; this moment, cruel without meaſure, and the next, equally addicted to compaſſion and mercy. At laſt, by a torrent of tears, and by imploring, with a ſteady perſeverance, a milder determination,

termination, they obtained to their city pardon and security.

Cæcina, while he tarried some few days in the country of the Helvetians, till he had learned the pleasure of Vitellius, and preparing at the same time to pass the Alps, received glad tidings from Italy, that the Squadron of horse named *Siliana*, and then quartering about the Po, had sworn fealty to Vitellius. That Squadron had served under Vitellius in Africa, when he was Proconsul there. They were afterwards recalled from thence by Nero, in order to be sent forward into Egypt, but, upon the insurrection of Vindex, detained from going They at thi time sojourned in Italy; and, at the instigation of their officers, men unacquainted with Otho, men engaged by obligations to Vitellius, and always magnifying to them the mighty strength of the approaching Legions, with the signal renown of the German Army, they went over to the same party. And as a present to their new Prince, with themselves they brought into his interest the strongest municipal cities in the territories beyond the Po, those of Milan, Novara, Eporedia, and Vercelles. Cæcina had this information directly from themselves. And because the most extensive region in Italy could not be guarded by a single band of cavalry, he dispatched thither before him the several Cohorts of Gauls, Lusitanians and Britons, with the body of German troops, and the Squadron of horse called *Taurina*. He himself remained in some short suspence, whether it were not advisable to bend his march over the mountains of Rhætia, towards Noricum, against Petronius, Governor of that province, who, having on all hands raised and assembled forces, and broken down the bridges over the rivers, was supposed to act from an attachment to Otho. But dreading the reinforcements of foot and horse, sent already forward; reflecting too, that

from

from ſecuring Italy more glory would accrue; and that where-ever the deciſive battle were fought, Noricum would certainly prove one of the acquiſitions following a general victory, he ordered his ſoldiers lightly armed to take their route over the Appennine, and led the heavy body of Legionary forces over the Alps, ſtill covered with the bleak horrors of winter.

Otho, in the mean time, contrary to the expectation of all men, languiſhed not in ſloth, nor was lulled aſleep by any of his pleaſures. All his voluptuous ſallies were ſuſpended and poſtponed, his paſſion for luxury was artfully diſſembled, and all things conducted ſuitably to the dignity of the Empire. Hence was adminiſtered the greater cauſe of public fear, as theſe virtues were known to be hollow and aſſumed, and a certain return was apprehended of his vices, which were natural and tried. Before himſelf, in the Capitol, he cauſed to be produced Marius Celſus, Conſul elect, the ſame whom, under colour of committing him to durance, he had already reſcued from the cruelty of the ſoldiers. He aimed to obtain the character of tenderneſs and clemency by mercy ſhewn to a man ſo illuſtrious, and ſo odious to all the partizans of Otho's cauſe. Celſus, when he appeared, confeſſed reſolutely the imputed crime, of having perſevered in his faith and duty to Galba: he even appealed to Otho, whether he ought not to approve ſuch an example of fidelity. Nor did Otho treat him as a criminal pardoned; but to manifeſt that he feared none of his enemies, to whom he had once declared himſelf reconciled, forthwith admitted him amongſt his moſt intimate friends, and preſently after choſe him one of his Generals for conducting the war. In Celſus too, by a kind of fatality, there remained for Otho alſo a fidelity unſhaken and unhappy. From the ſaving of Celſus there enſued much joy

amongſt

amongſt all men of rank in Rome, many acclamations amongſt the populace, and no ſort of diſtaſte even amongſt the ſoldiers, who in him admired the very ſame virtue, againſt which they had been ſo much incenſed.

This flight of public joy was followed by another equally great, though upon a conſideration widely different, namely, the deadly doom of Tigellinus, obtained by the cry of the public. Sophronius Tigellinus ſprang from parents altogether obſcure; his younger years were defiled with unnatural proſtitution, and his old age abandoned to chambering and lubricity. When, by a courſe of vices, as the quickeſt means of preferment, he had gained the command of the Watch, then of the Prætorian Bands, and other rewards due to virtue, he began to exerciſe cruelty, rapacity, and the like maſculine villanies. Nero he had corrupted to every iniquity, and had the boldneſs to perpetrate many unknown to Nero. At laſt he forſook and betrayed him. Hence the execution of no man was more vehemently urged, by ſuch as hated and by ſuch as lamented Nero, both concurring, from oppoſite paſſions, in the ſame antipathy and requeſt. While Galba reigned, he was protected by the mighty authority of Titus Vinius, on pretence that his daughter had been ſaved by Tigellinus; and it is without doubt that he had ſaved her, yet from no clemency of his (after ſuch numbers murdered by him) but purely to purchaſe means of ſhelter and eſcape in time to come. For this is the policy of every deſperate offender; from diſtruſt of preſent fortune, and dread of change, to arm himſelf betimes with private favour againſt the public hate. Hence it comes that for the protection of innocence no regard is ſhewn; but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from puniſhment. The people were the more inflamed, for that with their old deteſtation

of

of Tigellinus there concurred their recent bitterneſs towards Titus Vinius: And from every quarter of the City they now flocked to the palace, and the Forums, and eſpecially with their multitudes they filled the Circus and ſeveral Theatres, places where the populace are wont to exert their higheſt acts of licentiouſneſs. There they clamoured with bold and ſeditious words, till the fatal injunction to die was diſpatched to Tigellinus then at the Baths of Sinueſſa. There it reached him; and, amidſt a herd of harlots, after many paſſionate embraces, after many baſe and unmanly delays, he at laſt cut his throat with a razor, and brought a freſh ſtain upon his life, infamous as it was, even by his manner of dying, altogether vile, and meanly ſlow.

At the ſame time, againſt Galvia Criſpinilla capital puniſhment was demanded: But, by eluding the proſecution ſeveral artful ways, and by the connivance of the Prince, who by acting a double part incurred public cenſure, ſhe eſcaped her doom She had been to Nero the directreſs of his luſts, and afterwards paſſing over to Africa to inſtigate Clodius Macer to a revolt, avowedly laboured to famiſh the people of Rome; yet after this, becoming exalted and ſecured by her marriage with a Conſul, ſhe acquired the good graces of the whole City, and lived in perfect impunity during the reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius. Thenceforward ſhe continued mighty in credit, by being opulent and childleſs; two conſiderations equally prevalent in good times and in bad.

Frequent the while were the letters which paſſed from Otho to Vitellius, all contaminated with ſoothings and blandiſhments only proper to be uſed to women. In theſe he offered him treaſure and favour, and ſuch a place of retirement as he himſelf ſhould chuſe to live in, ſuitable to his profuſe life and taſte. With the very ſame offers Vitellius tempted

tempted Otho, and in the ſame ſoft terms. For at firſt they both treated in a way of diſſimulation, full of nonſenſe and abſurdity. Then, as it were, proceeding to plain ſcolding, they upbraided each other with their whoredoms, and profligate doings. Nor in this did either bring a falſe charge againſt the other. Otho, having recalled the Embaſſadors ſent by Galba, diſpatched others in their room, in the plauſible name of the Senate, to both the Armies in Germany, to the Italic Legion, and to the Forces quartering at Lyons. Theſe Embaſſadors continued with Vitellius, with ſuch frankneſs as ſeemed no proof that they were detained by force. But the party of the Prætorian guards, who by the appointment of Otho accompanied them, under the appearance of reſpect and attendance, were obliged to return back, without being ſuffered to mix amongſt the ſoldiers of the Legions. Moreover Fabius Valens tranſmitted letters to the Prætorian Bands, and City Cohorts, in the name of the German Army, magnifying the mighty forces attached to that intereſt, and offering friendſhip and aſſociation. He there likewiſe upbraided them for transferring the Sovereignty to Otho, when it had been ſo long before legally conferred upon Vitellius. Thus were they at once aſſailed by promiſes and menaces, as men utterly unequal to ſuſtain the war, but in no danger of loſing by accepting terms of peace. Nor for all this, did the Prætorian Bands vary their plighted faith.

Now, as both Chiefs were employing ſnares and miniſters of death againſt each other, there were inſtruments of this ſort diſpatched by Otho into Germany, others by Vitellius to Rome; and the attempts on both ſides were defeated. But their agents fared differently. Thoſe of Vitellius eſcaped undiſtinguiſhed in the mighty and promiſcuous crowd at Rome, where the perſons and concerns

of men are to each other unknown; whereas they who came from Otho were quickly remarked as new faces, in the quarters of Vitellius, where all men were mutually known to each other, and thence their design was betrayed. Vitellius too wrote to Titianus, brother to Otho, threatening to put him and his son to death, in case his mother and children were not protected in perfect security at Rome. In truth the families of both were preserved unhurt, under both Princes successively. But whether the mercy and forbearance of Otho were not founded in fear, remains an uncertainty. For Vitellius, who proved to be the Conqueror, acquired thence the glory of clemency unforced.

The first tidings from abroad that raised the assurance of Otho, were from Illyricum; namely, that the Legions in Dalmatia, in Pannonia, and in Mœsia, had declared for him, and sworn allegiance. The like good news arrived from Spain, and Cluvius Rufus the Governor, was applauded in a public Edict for such acceptable service: whereas it became presently known, that Spain had revolted to Vitellius. Nor in truth did Aquitaine persist long in obedience, though they of that Province had, by the influence of Julius Cordus, sworn fealty to Otho. There prevailed no where any sincere affections in the hearts, nor any true faith in the actions of men; and only by the impressions of terror and necessity they were transported and changed hither and thither. From the same dread, the Province of Narbon Gaul acceded to the party that was nearest and strongest. The Provinces far remote, and all the forces beyond the seas, continued subject to Otho; from no partiality or zeal to his title or interest: But in the name of Rome, and in the authority of the Senate, infinite weight was found. Besides their minds were pre-occupied in his behalf, as the first that they had heard nominated.

nated. The Army in Judea were by Veſpaſian ſworn to Otho, as were the Legions in Syria by Mucianus. Egypt too, and all the Provinces extending to the Eaſt, were governed in his name. The like ſubmiſſion was paid him in Africa, according to the example begun by Carthage. Indeed, without waiting for the authority of Vipſtanus Apronianus, the Proconſul, Creſcens a freed-man of Nero's, (for theſe ſort of creatures too in calamitous times, thruſt themſelves into the adminiſtration of the State) had preſented a feaſt to the people there, in order to celebrate with rejoicings the acceſſion of a new Emperor: and upon this occaſion, the impatient populace ran into many extravagances, without regard had to any rule or reſtraint. The precedent ſent by Carthage was followed by the other African Cities. Whilſt the Armies and the Provinces were thus rent and attached to oppoſite intereſts, it, in truth, behoved Vitellius, if he would gain the Sovereignty, to gain it by war.

Otho, in the mean time, as if full peace had reigned, was applying himſelf to the civil adminiſtration of the Empire, with a conduct, in ſome inſtances, becoming the dignity of the State, but for the moſt part unſuitable to the public honour, through haſte and impatience to find preſent expedients for daily exigencies. Himſelf and Titianus his brother he named Conſuls, to continue till the Calends of March. For the two following months in that office he appointed Verginius; a matter of favour, by which he meant to ſoften and court the German Army. To Verginius he joined, for a Collegue, Pompeius Vopiſcus, under colour of ancient friendſhip, but, in the opinion of moſt men, as a real compliment of honour paid to the people of Vienne. The other deſignations to the Conſulſhip remained juſt as they had been ſettled by Nero or Galba. Hence, Cælius and Flavius, each ſir-

named Sabinus, were the ſucceeding Conſuls till July; as were Arius Antonius and Marius Celſus till September. Nor was this dignity of theirs aboliſhed or queſtioned even by Vitellius after he proved Conqueror. Moreover, upon ſuch ancient Senators as had already ſuſtained illuſtrious functions in the State, Otho, for the laſt completion of their public honours, conferred the pontifical or augural dignities; and for a conſolation to young Noblemen, lately under exile, but now recalled, he inveſted them with ſuch ſacerdotal offices as had been enjoyed by their fathers or forefathers. To Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blæſus, and Sevinus Promptinus, Senators degraded in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, and condemned for robbing the Public, their dignity was now reſtored. In repealing their ſentence, it was thought fit to new name their crime, that what was real rapine might now ſeem to have been only a charge of treaſon; a charge become ſo odious, that, in deteſtation of it, other laws, however ſalutary, were diſuſed and loſt.

By the like methods of benevolence, he alſo attempted to gain the affections of whole Cities and Provinces. He ſupplied the Colonies of Hiſpalis and Emerita with a freſh recruit of families. He made the whole people of the Lingones free Citizens of Rome. To the Province of Bætica he made a preſent of all the Cities of the Moors. He eſtabliſhed new privileges in Cappadocia, new privileges in Africa, more in truth for oſtentation and renown, than that they were likely to continue. During theſe tranſactions, which, from the neceſſity of the conjuncture, and the cares which urged him on every ſide, paſſed for excuſable, he forgot not to recall fondneſſes paſt; and while his Sovereignty was yet at ſtake, procured a decree of Senate for replacing the ſeveral ſtatues of Poppæa. He is even believed to have had under frequent deliberation the celebrat-

celebrating of Nero's memory with public Honours, with a view to win the hearts of the populace. Nay, ſome there were who in public places erected the images of Nero; and during certain days, the people and ſoldiers uttered their acclamations to Otho, by the name of *Nero Otho*; as if by this title they intended him additional nobility and luſtre; while he himſelf remained ſilent and undetermined, perhaps aſhamed to accept their compliment, perhaps afraid to forbid it.

Whilſt the minds of men were intent upon the progreſs and iſſue of the civil war, foreign tranſactions paſſed unregarded. Hence it was that the Roxolanians a people of Sarmatia, who had the preceding winter cut off two of our Cohorts, made an irruption the more daringly into Mœſia, with mighty expectation. They were nine thouſand horſe, animated by paſt ſucceſs with notable aſſurance and diſdain, and more poſſeſſed with the thoughts of ſpoil than of fighting. As therefore they roved about, diſperſed and regardleſs of an enemy, they were ſuddenly beſet by the third Legion accompanied by its auxiliaries. Amongſt the Roman forces all things were aptly diſpoſed for an encounter. Thoſe of Sarmatia, on the contrary, were either ſcattered abroad in eager queſt of prey, or loaded with it, and through the ſlipperineſs of the ways deprived of all aid from the fleetneſs of their horſes: ſo that they were ſlaughtered like men bound and helpleſs. For wonderful it is to be obſerved, that all the bravery of the Sarmatians, is as it were, external and disjointed from the men. In combats on foot, nothing is ſo ſpiritleſs and unmanly as they: when they advance as a body of horſe, ſcarce can any army whatſoever withſtand them. But upon this occaſion, the day being wet, and the froſt diſſolving, they were neither able to weild their mighty ſpears, nor their huge ſabres, ſabres ſo long that

with both their hands they manage them: for under them now their horſes ſlipt and fell, and left them encumbered with their ponderous coats of mail; ſuch as by all their Princes and Nobles are worn. It is an armour framed of plates of iron, or of leather infinitely hard; and though it be impenetrable by any weapon, yet to ſuch as are by the force of an enemy caſt down, it is alſo a ſure obſtacle to riſing again. They were moreover involved in the ſnow, at once deep and melting. The Roman ſoldiers the while, in weildy armour, aſſail the Sarmatians, now by a ſhower of darts, anon with the points of their javelins, then, when opportunity invited, in cloſe combat, with their light and manageable ſwords goring the defenceleſs foe, (for, to ſecure themſelves with a ſhield, is not their cuſtom) till a few of them who ſurvived the battle, betook themſelves to coverts in the marſhes, where, through the rigour of winter, and the extremity of their wounds, they all periſhed. As this became known at Rome, Marcus Aponius, appointed Governor of Mœſia, was diſtinguiſhed with a triumphal Statue; as were Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and Numiſius Lupus, Commanders of the Legions there, with the conſular Ornaments. And great was the joy manifeſted upon this occaſion by Otho, who to himſelf aſſumed the glory, as if he too were bleſt with felicity in war, and by the interpoſition of his Captains and Armies the Empire were thus aggrandized.

In the mean time, from a contemptible ſource, whence nothing was dreaded, there aroſe a ſedition, which well nigh involved the City in deſtruction. Otho had ordered the ſeventeeth Cohort to be removed from Oſtia to Rome; and the care of ſupplying them with arms was committed to Varius Criſpinus, a Tribune of the Prætorian guards He, chuſing for the execution of his orders the hour of

moſt

moſt leiſure, in the cloſe of the evening, when all the camp was compoſed, directed the Armory to be opened, and the carriages belonging to the Cohort to be loaded. The lateneſs of the hour adminiſtered jealouſy, the action itſelf paſſed for highly criminal, the ſtudy of privacy and quiet ended in an uproar, and the drunken ſoldiery, upon the ſight of theſe arms, found themſelves inſtigated to uſe their arms. The body raged and clamoured, and charged their Tribunes and Centurions with ill faith and traiterous deſigns, as if "the whole tribe "of domeſtics belonging to the ſeveral Senators "were to have been armed againſt the perſon and "cauſe of Otho." Part of them were intoxicated with wine, and knew not the cauſe of the alarm; all the worſt and moſt profligate ſought an occaſion to plunder. The herd and generality, according to cuſtom, were delighted with every new tumult and commotion whatſoever; and ſuch as were better diſpoſed, were not able to manifeſt their duty in the dark. Criſpinus the Tribune, who laboured to repreſs their ſeditious fury, they murdered, with ſuch Centurions who were remarkable for ſeverity of diſcipline. Then inſtantly they put themſelves under arms, and mounting upon horſes, with their ſwords drawn, advanced directly to Rome, then to the imperial Palace.

Otho was then entertaining at a grand banquet the principal Lords and Ladies of the City. Terror ſeized theſe his gueſts, and doubt, whether their danger proceeded from the caſual rage of the ſoldiery, or the premeditated treachery of the Emperor. Unreſolved too they were, which was the more perilous choice, to ſtay together and be taken, or to fly and diſperſe. This moment they counterfeited notable courage; the next they betrayed their dread; and conſtantly watched the countenance of Otho. So that, as it uſually happens to

minds bent to ſuſpicion, they feared Otho, when he himſelf was under fear. In truth, as he was equally terrified with the danger threatening the Senate as with his own, he not only diſpatched forthwith the Captains of the guards to mollify the rage of the ſoldiers, but ordered the company to retire with all ſpeed. Then it was that all fled for ſafety: Roman Magiſtrates caſt away the enſigns of their authority and ſtate, and deſerted their uſual train of followers and ſlaves. Tender Ladies, antient Nobles, rambled in the dark, hither and thither, few to their own home, moſt to the houſes of their friends; and chiefly they ſought lurking holes amongſt the baſeſt of their dependents, where ſearch and purſuit was leaſt apprehended.

The violence of the ſoldiers was ſuch, that the gates of the palace proved no check to them from forcing their way into the banqueting chamber, where with one mouth they demanded to have a ſight of Otho; having in their paſſage wounded Julius Martialis, a Tribune, and Vitellius Saturninus, Colonel of a Legion, two officers who ſtrove to oppoſe their tumultuous entrance. On every hand arms were brandiſhed, and terrible menaces were uttered, now againſt the Tribunes and Centurions, and in the next breath againſt the whole body of the Senate. For with a pannic fear, blind and cauſeleſs, their minds were bewitched and inflamed: So that, as they could aſſign no particular victim to their own fury, they claimed a latitude for general ſlaughter; till Otho, ſtanding upon his banqueting couch, had by ſupplications and tears, to the abaſement of Imperial Dignity, prevailed upon them, with great difficulty, to deſiſt. They then returned to their camp, but with much regret and ill-will, and not exempt from the foul ſtain of blood and guilt. The next day, as if the City had been taken by

by an enemy, the houſes continued cloſe ſhut up; ſcarce a ſoul was to be ſeen in the ſtreets; the people were abandoned to mourning and ſadneſs; and the ſoldiers, with down-caſt looks, ſhewed rather a ſhocking gloomineſs than any tokens of remorſe. Their Captains Licinius Proculus, and Plotius Firmus, harangued them in companies apart, with a ſtile of ſoftneſs or aſperity ſuitable to the different ſpirits of the ſpeakers. However they ſpoke, the reſult of the diſcourſe was no other, than that to the ſoldiers ſhould be diſtributed five thouſand Seſterces * a man. Then, and not before, Otho adventured to enter the camp: There the Tribunes and Centurions gathered round him, in the guiſe of private men, having quitted the badges denoting their ranks, and implored him with earneſtneſs to diſmiſs them from the ſervice, and to protect them in their lives. Well the ſoldiery ſaw what an heavy odium was derived upon themſelves by this requeſt of their Officers, and with a behaviour formed to duty and obedience, required, of their own mere motion, "That upon the authors of the inſurrection the pains of death ſhould be inflicted."

Otho not only found himſelf beſet with great combuſtions and civil diſorders, but the inclinations of the ſoldiery jarring and divided. All the innocent and beſt amongſt them inſiſted upon a remedy to the preſent licentiouſneſs and outrage: The croud and majority delighted in frequent ſeditions, in a government conducted by largeſſes and corruption; and hence by being indulged in tumults and feats of rapine, were the more eaſily inſtigated to the proſecution of the civil war. He reflected too that a Sovereignty, like his, acquired by flagrant iniquity, could never be preſerved by righteous orders ſud-

* Thirty-nine pounds, five ſhillings.

denly eſtabliſhed, and by reviving the rigid virtue and purity of the ancient Romans. However, as he was anxious about the danger of the City, and the doom which threatened the Senate, he at laſt ſpoke to them in this faſhion

" I come not hither with deſign either of kind-
" ling your affections to me ward, my fellow ſol-
" diers, or to animate you to bravery againſt the
" foe: for both your bravery and your affections
" ſignally overflow. But I come to entreat you,
" to qualify the heat of your magnanimity with an
" allay, and confine within ſome bounds your zeal
" and tenderneſs for me. The beginning of the
" late tumult aroſe from no thirſt of prey, from no
" hate to the perſons of men (motives which have
" excited many armies to ſtrife and uproar) nor
" from any dread of peril, or deſire to ſhun it;
" but your devotion to me, over-paſſionate and
" fond, rouſed you to it with more acrimony than
" reflection. For, many an honeſt cauſe and coun-
" ſel, when not conducted by ſound judgment, is
" followed by pernicious events. We are proceed-
" ing to war. Now, does the reaſon of things
" permit, does the nature of times and occaſions
" permit (things which are preſented and loſt with
" equal and infinite velocity) that every expreſs,
" every article of intelligence be publickly com-
" municated, and in the preſence of the whole ar-
" my every difficulty be diſcuſſed, and all our coun-
" ſels holden? To be ignorant of ſome thing equal-
" ly behoves a ſoldier as to be well acquainted with
" others. Such is the authority of a General, ſuch
" the quality and rigour of diſcipline, that for the
" preſervation of both, it is often inevitably neceſ-
" ſary, that even to the Tribunes and Centurions
" many poſitive commands be given without any
" reaſons annexed. Were it allowed to every par-
" ticular, when he receives orders, to aſk why, all
" obe-

" obedience being thus loſt, the loſs of Sovereign
" Empire would immediately follow And yet
" ſhall ſoldiers, of their own heads, fly to their
" arms in the dead of night? Shall one or two ſingle
" men, deſperate and drunken, (for that more than
" two run thus mad in the late diſtraction, I am
" loth to believe) ſhall they dare to embrue their
" hands in the blood of their Tribunes and Cen-
" turions? ſhall they be allowed to burſt into their
" Emperor's Pavilion?

" It muſt be owned indeed, it was on my behalf
" that theſe exceſſes were committed. But during
" the ſallies of this inſurrection, which was con-
" ducted at random in the dark, and in the uni-
" verſal confuſion following it, an occaſion for
" forming attempts too againſt me, might have been
" eaſily adminiſtered. What elſe could Vitellius,
" and the creatures of Vitellius, make the burden
" of their imprecations againſt us? And if in their
" breaſts the option lay, what other bent of ſpirit,
" what other underſtanding could they wiſh us?
" Would they not naturally wiſh for tumult and
" diſcord amongſt us; that the ſoldier ſhould re-
" fuſe to obey the centurion, the centurion to obey
" the tribune; and that, in a general confuſion of
" horſe and foot, we might all in a body run pre-
" cipitately to deſtruction? Rather by due obedience,
" my fellow ſoldiers, than by ſedulouſly examining
" the commands of ſuperiors, is government pre-
" ſerved amongſt military men: And always moſt
" brave in a day of danger does that army prove,
" which before danger appeared, had remained moſt
" quiet and dutiful. To be armed and valorous,
" be your part; to me leave the prerogative of
" counſel, and the direction of your magnanimity.
" Of the late tranſgreſſion there were but few guilty;
" of thoſe few two only ſhall bear the puniſhment.
" Labour, all the reſt of you, to obliterate the me-

" mory of that abominable and infamous night; " nor let thoſe horrible expreſſions uttered againſt " the Senate be ever heard by any other army. To " demand to execution that venerable body of men, " who together conſtitute the head of the Empire, " and are the glory and ornaments of the Provin- " ces, is a thing ſo atrocious, that even the fell " Germans, they whom Vitellius is animating with " all his might againſt us, would not dare to at- " tempt. And is it yet poſſible, that any of the " native ſons of Italy, that the genuine progeny of " Romans, ſhould cruelly require the blood and " lives of that glorious Order, by whoſe luſtre and " renown derived upon us, we bring apparent con- " tempt and obſcurity upon the ſordid party of Vi- " tellius. Vitellius has ſeized ſome countries; he " has too the appearance of an army; but with us " is the Senate. Hence it comes to paſs that the " Commonwealth ſtands on our ſide; on his the " enemies of the Commonwealth. How! Do you " indeed believe, that the eſſence of this City, of " all others the faireſt, conſiſts in walls and roofs " and piles of ſtone? Theſe are things dumb and " inanimate, and ſubject indifferently to ruin or " repair: But upon the ſecurity and well-being of " the Senate is eſtabliſhed the eternity of the State, " the peace of nations, with your welfare and mine. " By the Father and Founder of our City this ve- " nerable Order was inſtituted, with the interpo- " ſition of Auſpices ſolemnly obſerved: from the " time of our kings to that of the Cæſars, it con- " tinually ſubſiſted. As we received it from our " anceſtors, let us deliver it down, immortal, to " poſterity. For, as from amongſt you Senators " ſpring; ſo Princes ariſe from amongſt Senators."

This ſpeech, contrived both to rebuke and to mollify the ſpirit of the ſoldiery, was favourably received, as was the moderate meaſure of puniſhment

inflicted; for he ordered no more than two to ſuffer. Thus was ſome compoſure wrought amongſt theſe men, whom no violent correction could have quelled. The tranquillity however of the City was not yet reſtored. There ſtill was heard the uproar of arms; and a face of war ſubſiſted. It is true the ſoldiery committ d no public inſults, nor rioted in a body; but diſperſed every where up and down, they crept into houſes in diſguiſed habits, as ſpies watching with virulent minds and curioſity, for matter of miſchief and deſtruction againſt all, who by their nobility, or wealth, or any other notable pre-eminence, were ſignal enough to be ſubject to popular and flying rumour. Some too believed, that certain ſoldiers from the army of Vitellius were arrived at Rome, purpoſely to ſound the ſpirit of the parties there. Hence all places were filled with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt; nay, ſcarce were men exempt from caution and fear in their moſt ſecret receſſes at home. But abroad, under the eye of the public, this ſort of dread moſt of all prevailed. There, people were careful to ſhift their paſſions and faces, according to the quality of the news which were ſaid to be brought; that when affairs bore an ambiguous aſpect, they might ſeem to manifeſt no diffidence of ſucceſs, nor be ſlow in rejoicing, when proſperous. But upon the ſeveral Senators aſſembled in Council, the moſt perilous taſk lay, how to preſerve in all points a conduct ſafe and unexceptionable; leſt their ſilence might be conſtrued haughtineſs and contumacy, leſt by liberty of ſpeech his jealouſy ſhould be rouſed: and were they to utter flights of flattery, theſe Otho would readily ſee through, he who having been lately a ſubject, had then uſed the ſame ſtile. They therefore dealt in repetitions, dwelt upon the motions which they made, and varied and wreſted them to every ſenſe according as it appeared moſt acceptable; but always

ways ſure to beſtow upon Vitellius the names of *Public Enemy* and *Parricide*. They who were moſt artful and wary, confined themſelves to ſuch invectives as being common and vulgar, were not remarkable: ſome aſſailed him with bold reproaches and well grounded, but took care to utter them under the dinn of a general clamour, and when many were ſpeaking at once, or to confound them amongſt a tumultuous tide of words purpoſely poured out by themſelves.

Moreover from divers prodigies, atteſted by ſeveral authorities, much public terror aroſe. From the hands of the Statue of Victory, ſtanding upon her chariot in the porch of the Capitol, the reins dropped. Out of the Chapel appertaining to Juno, there ſuddenly aroſe an apparition of a ſize more than human. The Statue of the deified Julius, erected in an iſland in the Tiber, was found turned quite round from the weſt to the eaſt, upon a day utterly free from rain and tempeſts. In Etruria an ox ſpoke There were animals that produced unuſual births; with many other wonders, which during the ignorant ages, proved matter of obſervation even in times of peace, but now are only heard when public terror prevails. But there intervened a dread ſtill more affecting, one not only of calamities future, but accompanied by preſent deſolation, and cauſed by a precipitate inundation from the Tiber, whoſe waters ſwelling to an immenſe heighth, overthrew the Sublician bridge, and, having their courſe obſtructed by the heap of ruins, beſides overflowing the adjacent quarters which were level, covered places which were reckoned ſecure againſt any ſuch diſaſter Many were ſwept away in the ſtreets; and more drowned in their ſhops and beds. Amongſt the populace famine enſued, both through ſcarcity of proviſion, and want of employment to earn it. Moreover ſuch buildings as ſtood for

ſtand-

ſtanding by themſelves are called Iſles, having their foundations ſapped and weakened by the flood ſurrounding them, ſunk into ruins when the waters returned. No ſooner were the minds of men free from this peril which had ſo much awakened them, but they found another matter of prodigy, big with direful and impending calamities, though it proceeded from cauſes evidently fortuitous or natural; namely, that the field of Mars and the cauſeway of Flaminius, were both ſo obſtructed, that Otho, when ready to march, could not that way take his route to the war.

Otho having performed the ſolemnity of luſtration, by purifying the city with ſacrifices, weighed carefully all the methods of conducting the war; and, ſeeing the paſſages over the Apennine mountains with thoſe of the Cottian Alps, and all the other approaches to Gaul, beſet and ſhut up by the armies of Vitellius reſolved to invade the province of Narbon Gaul with a powerful force by ſea, all faithfully attached to his party: For, amongſt the ſoldiers of the Legions he had engrafted all thoſe who had ſurvived the ſlaughter of their brethren at the Milvian bridge, and had been by Galba cruelly doomed to a priſon. To the others too hopes were given of riſing in good time to more honourable ranks in the ſervice. The navy he enforced with the City Cohorts, and with a detachment from the Prætorian Bands; a reinforcement intended as the prime force and bulwark of the army, and to aſſiſt the commanders with counſel, as well as to ſerve them for guards. To Antonius Novellus, to Suedius Clemens, both lately Centurions of principal rank, and to Æmilius Pacenſis, a Tribune diſmiſſed by Galba, and now by Otho re-eſtabliſhed, the direction in chief of the expedition was committed. But the care and controul of all the ſhips was reſerved to Oſcus his Freedman, who was employed

to

to inſpect the fidelity and behaviour of men more honourable than himſelf The command of the foot and horſe was aſſigned to Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celſus, and Annius Gallus; but in Licinius Proculus, Captain of the Prætorian guards, the chief confidence was placed. This man, who was a prompt officer amongſt the troops at Rome, but in war unexperienced, made it his buſineſs to arraign and blacken the eminent name and authority of Paulinus, the ſpirit and vivacity of Celſus, the gravity and coolneſs of Annius, and to blaſt with ſome calumny of his every excellence of theirs; and thus came, by being miſchievous and crafty, to ſurpaſs in credit ſuch as were virtuous and unaſſuming; a taſk exceeding eaſy to be accompliſhed.

During thoſe days Cornelius Dolabella was doomed to confinement in the town of Aquine, though under ward no wiſe ſtrict or ſolitary; for no crime of his, but only as he was obnoxious and marked out for the ancient luſtre of his name, and kindred to Galba. Many of the Magiſtrates, and a great part of ſuch as had been Conſuls, were by Otho ordered to prepare for the field; with no deſign of allowing them any ſhare or charge in the war, but only under colour of accompanying him. Amongſt theſe was included Lucius Vitellius, diſtinguiſhed neither as the brother of an Emperor, nor of an enemy. Great was the anxiety and conſternation, which upon this occaſion poſſeſſed the City; nor was any rank of men exempt from the impulſe of danger and fear. The chief Senators were by age diſabled, or through long peace become liſtleſs and unwieldly. The nobles were ſunk in ſloth, and had quite forgot the wars. The Roman knights were unacquainted with all military functions, and the duties of a Camp. And all theſe degrees of men, at this time governed by dread, the more they ſtrove to conceal and ſmother it, did but the more apparently

rently discover how greatly they dreaded. Nor, on the contrary, were there wanting some, who, from an ambition altogether stupid and ridiculous, purchased themselves gay and glaring armour, with fine and stately steeds; or others who provided materials and preparatives for riot and feasting, with all the implements and incentives to feats of voluptuousness, as so many instruments of war. Every wise man felt an affecting zeal for public tranquillity, and the welfare of the State: The giddy and thoughtless, such as are unable to judge of things future, were puffed up with extravagant hopes. Many there were, who finding their fortunes and credit desperate during peace, became elevated upon the public commotions, and in the general distraction found most security to themselves in particular.

Now the body of the people, who are by their numbers so infinite and mighty, debarred from a participation of public counsels and cares, began to feel by degrees the heavy evil and pressures of war; as to the use of the soldiery all the money was applied, and the price of provisions augmented; misfortunes which upon the insurrection of Vindex, had no-wise oppressed the Commonalty. For the City then enjoyed peace and security, and the seat of the war being in one of the provinces, it seemed no other than a foreign war maintained between our Legions and the people of Gaul. For, ever since the deified Augustus established the sovereignty of the Cæsars, the Roman People had warred always amongst nations far remote, and to one man alone the glory or anxiety belonged. Under Tiberius and Caligula, men had only to dread the cruelties of pacific tyranny. The attempts of Scribonianus against Claudius were at once divulged and suppressed. Nero was overturned and deprived rather by evil tidings, and the terrors of rumour, than by force of arms. But, at this time, the Fleets and Legions,

gions, and, what is rarely practiſed, the Prætorian Guards and City Cohorts, were all led forth to fight. The eaſt and weſt were engaged on the oppoſite ſides, as were all the other forces remaining in the ſeveral countries which each competitor left behind him: Ample materials for a war long and fierce, had there been other Chiefs than theſe to have conducted it. As Otho was upon marching, there were ſome who ſtarted a cauſe of delay, taken from the omiſſion of a religious ceremony, that of repoſiting the ſacred ſhields *Ancilia*. But he rejected all arguments for procraſtination, as what had proved fatal to Nero: beſides he was urged by the approach of Cæcina, who had already paſſed the Alps.

On the fourteenth of March, having aſſembled the Senate, to their care he recommended the Commonwealth. And, as the wild grants and bounties of Nero had been reſumed, Otho beſtowed upon the exiles lately reſtored all ſuch remainders of theſe reſumptions as were not yet come into his Exchequer: A liberality altogether juſt, and in ſound magnificent, but in effect empty, and fruſtrated by the eagerneſs of the Officers, who had a good while before exacted payment of the whole. Anon he aſſembled the people, and to them boaſted, that with his intereſt and title there concurred the majeſty of the City, and joint conſent of the People and Senate. Againſt the adherents of Vitellius he diſcourſed with great gentleneſs and reſtraint, and taxed the Legions rather with ignorance, than with inſolence and revolt. Of Vitellius himſelf he made no mention; whether from any moderation of his own, or whether he who compoſed the ſpeech, in due fear and caution for himſelf, declined to aſſail Vitellius with opprobrious words. For as Otho, in all military deliberations, conſulted Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celſus; ſo, in his civil adminiſtration,

tration, he was believed to use the talents of Galerius Trachalus. Nay, some would needs discover, in this speech, his peculiar flow of eloquence, long celebrated at the public Tribunals, and known to be sounding and diffuse, formed so as to fill the ears of the people. There followed much shouting and many acclamations from the Populace, in their old road of sycophancy; but all extravagant and hollow. They indeed strove to surpass each other in such strains of zeal, and in vows so ardent, as if to Cæsar the Dictator, or to the Emperor Augustus they had been directing them; not from any motives of fear, or any of affection, but from a wanton propensity to abjectness and servitude; and just as it were in a tribe of houshold slaves, every man was acted by narrow views of his own, and public honour was now regarded by none. Otho, upon leaving Rome, committed to his brother, Salvius Titianus, the charge of maintaining its tranquillity, and of managing the other affairs of the Empire.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK II.

The SUMMARY.

Titus *sent by his father* Veſpaſian *to congratulate* Galba; *hears of his murder, and ſtops in Greece; proceeds to Syria, viſits the Temple of the Paphian Venus, conſults her, has an auſpicious anſwer, returns to his father, who meditates war, but waits an occaſion. A counterfeit* Nero *detected and ſeized. An account of* Otho's *forces, generals, and fleet. Commotions in Corſica.* Cæcina *enters Italy, beſieges Placentia, but is repulſed with loſs and diſgrace; lays an ambuſh for the army of* Otho, *but is himſelf ſurprized by one of theirs.* Valens *advances to Ticinum, where his men mutiny againſt him, but are appeaſed, yet run headlong to join* Cæcina. Otho, *upon intelligence of their conjunction, conſulted about puſhing or prolonging the war; prefers the meaſures which were boldeſt and worſt. The combat near Bedriacum. The forces of* Otho *routed,*

ed, yet not daunted. Otho, *weary of the civil war, dies by his own hand; his stead. spirit, calmness, and reas nings. A mutiny of his soldiers; the danger threatened by it to* Verginius. *A lying report of* Otho, *as living and victorious; how perilous this to the Senators.* Albinus *overthrown in Africa; the Provinces there brought to espouse the cause of* Vitellius. *The proceedings of* Vitellius *in Italy; how he disposes of the vanquished forces. A tumult of the soldiers at Ticinum. The deliberations of* Vespasian *and* Mucianus *in the East about declaring war: The fine speech of the latter.* Vespasian *is determined, and assumes the Sovereignty: The Legions there swear to him. The forces in Mœsia and Pannonia revolt to his party.* Vitellius *enters Rome with a huge host; his conduct there. His enemies gather strength: he orders* Cæcina *and* Valens *to take the field.* Cæcina's *Treason. The transactions these of the same year.*

FORTUNE at this juncture was ranging materials, in a distant part of the world, for raising an imperial house, which, by a lot extremely diversified, proved to the Commonwealth both refreshing and calamitous, as well as to the race of Princes themselves fortunate and tragical. Titus Vespasian was by his father sent from Judæa towards Galba, while Galba yet reigned; and, for the motives of his journey, assigned "the homage "to be paid to the Emperor, and the maturity of "his own age for courting and sustaining public "dignities." But by the populace, who are ever addicted to conjecture and fiction, it was rumoured abroad, that Galba had sent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was administered by the condition of the Emperor, ancient and childless, and the restless spirit of the City, who would never fail multiplying successors, till the

true one were once declared. To heighten the rumour, there concurred the fine ſpirit of Titus himſelf, capable of any degree of fortune however elevated, the lovelineſs of his countenance blended with a certain air of majeſty, the reputation and celebrated exploits of his father, propitious oracles, nay, events altogether fortuitous, which now paſſed, upon minds thus bent to believe, for ſo many ſupernatural preſages. At Corinth, a city of Achaia, he received certain advices of the murder of Galba: he found ſome too who averred, that Vitellius had taken up arms, and meant to make war. Hence anxious and unreſolved, he called together a few of his friends, and with them examined all the difficulties which on each ſide beſet him. "Should he proceed to Rome, no ſort of favour "could he hope to reap from the preſent Emperor, "for a tender of duty, which at firſt he was bring-"ing to the late one: There, moreover, he muſt "expect to remain as an hoſtage to Vitellius or "to Otho. Should he, on the contrary, return to "Judæa, the reſentment of the Conqueror would "be inevitable. But as it was yet uncertain on "what ſide the victory would fall, and as his fa-"ther would engage in one of the parties, the ſon "would be eaſily excuſed. Or ſhould Veſpaſian "reſolve to aſſume the government; then no wiſe "to be conſidered was the giving a particular "offence, by ſuch as reſolved upon a general "war." When by theſe and the like conflicts between hope and fear he had been agitated a while, hope at laſt prevailed.

There were ſome who believed, that only from a fond impatience to reviſit Queen Berenice, he was moved to return: and it is true, that his ſoul, youthful and amorous, was not indifferent to Berenice. But from hence aroſe no neglect in his conducting affairs of duty and truſt. During his youth

he

he indulged himſelf in feſtivity and pleaſures, and proved much more ſtrict and reſerved in his own reign than in that of his father. Now after he had ſailed along the ſhores of Achaia and Aſia, holding upon his left hand the coaſts of the Mediterranean, he proceeded to the iſle of Rhodes, to that of Cyprus, and thence held a bolder courſe through the main ſea into Syria. At Cyprus his curioſity prompted him to viſit the temple of Venus at Paphos, ſo much renowned amongſt the natives as well as foreigners. Nor will it be tedious here to recount, in few words, the original of that ſuperſtition, the antiquity of the Temple, and the form of the Goddeſs; for no where elſe is ſhe thus repreſented.

For the founder of the Temple, antient tradition aſſigns King Aerias, while ſome aſſert this to be the name of the Goddeſs. By later fame King Cinyras is delivered down, as the perſon who hallowed and dedicated the Temple. It is added, "That upon this ſpot the Goddeſs herſelf landed, "carried thither by the ſea, from whence ſhe had "been juſt generated; but that the myſtery and "diſcipline of divination were derived from abroad, "and introduced by Tamyras of Cilicia; and hence "between him and Cinyras it was ſtipulated, that to "the deſcendents of both the adminiſtration of the "ſacred rites ſhould equally belong." Thereafter, in condeſcenſion to the Royal Race, that the ſame might not remain without any pre-eminence over a foreign line, the ſtrange Diviners reſigned theſe very myſteries which they themſelves had introduced. Nor is any prieſt now conſulted, but one deſcended from Cinyras. Beaſts for ſacrifice are left to the choice of every votary; yet none but the males are allowed. Moſt faith is placed in the entrails of kids. The pouring of blood upon the altar is prohibited. Supplications only and pure

fire

fire are offered upon the altars; which though they ſtand expoſed to the ſky, yet feel no wet from falling rain. The image of the Goddeſs, without any reſemblance of human ſhape, is a figure round and unequal, which, from a bottom rather broad, riſes with continual diminution till it terminates in a point, like a ſpire. For the reaſon of this we are left in the dark.

When Titus had ſurveyed the ſignal wealth of the Temple, the donations of Princes, and other curioſities which the Greeks, who have a genius ſtrangely fond of matters of antiquity, feigned to be derived from antient times, now dark and fabulous; he began to conſult the oracle, and firſt inquired concerning the ſecurity of his remaining voyage. Being told that a free paſſage and a favourable ſea awaited him; he ſlew a number of victims, then propoſed queſtions, but in terms dark and wary, concerning himſelf. Soſtratus (ſo the prieſt was called) perceiving the ſeveral entrails to be propitious, and all to agree, and the Goddeſs to approve all the vaſt deſigns of the queriſt; ſatisfied himſelf for the preſent with returning an anſwer ſhort and uſual; but deſired a ſecret interview and there diſcloſed to him his future deſtiny. Titus, with a ſpirit notably elated and aſſured, proceeded to his father; and, to the minds of the provinces and armies in the eaſt, yet wavering and unreſolved, brought a mighty acceſſion of confidence and firmneſs. Veſpaſian had utterly diſcomfited the revolted Jews, and nothing remained to end the war, but the ſiege of Jeruſalem: a work rendered difficult and ſtubborn rather through the ſteepneſs of ſituation, and invincible ſpirit of ſuperſtition, than from any remaining ſtrength or forces equal to the power and diſtreſſes which threatened it. Three Legions, as above I have remembered, were under the command of Veſpaſian, men thoroughly exerciſed in

war. Mucianus commanded four, in full peace; but, awakened by emulation, and the glory of the neighbouring army, they had rejected all unweildiness and sloth; and whatever robustness and activity the former might gather from a life of hardships and perils, no less vigour accrued to the latter from a state of repose, and from the daily exercises of war without being in it. Both Generals had their auxiliary forces, Cohorts of foot, and Squadrons of horse, with naval armaments and confederate Kings; and both were Commanders signal and renowned, but signal from different causes and characters.

In every duty of war Vespasian was indefatigable; it was he who always led the march, he who always chose the ground for encamping Upon consultations and dispatches he bestowed nights and days, and was ever ready, upon an exigency, to grapple with the enemy hand to hand. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and general dress he little varied from a common soldier. Upon the whole, a Commander he was, who, had he been exempt from avarice, would have equalled the famous Chiefs of antient times. Mucianus, on the contrary, was raised to great eminence and splendor by his abundant wealth and magnificence; as in these and in all things he surpassed the figure of a subject. He was the abler orator, and, being a great master of civil affairs, more prompt in foreseeing events, and more dexterous at concerting of schemes. Between them, in truth, was found a rare assortment of talents for forming an Emperor, if, by a separation of the vices of each, only the virtues of both could have been blended. For the rest; as one ruled over Syria, the other over Judæa, from the governing of two bordering provinces, between them there had subsisted a humour of envy and contention; till at length, upon the fall of Nero,

Nero, they dropped their animosities, and acted in concert for their mutual security and interest: a union first begun by the interposition of friends, afterwards accomplished by Titus, who proved the surest pledge of their reconciliation. It was he who eradicated their dangerous and ill-boding strife, by motives of unanimity salutary to both; as he was well qualified by nature, and every accomplishment, to captivate also the taste and affections of Mucianus. The Tribunes, the Centurions, and common body of the soldiery were all gained into the confederacy, by different applications to their several virtues or pleasures, according to the genius of particulars; some by complimenting their industry, others by indulging their riot.

Before the arrival of Titus both armies had already sworn fidelity to Otho. With such velocity, according to custom, had flown their intelligence from Rome, and so heavy and slow was their movement towards the mighty work of a civil war; a work which the east, undisturbed through a long course of years by intestine feuds, was now for the first time preparing to undertake. For, in former times, all the most powerful conflicts amongst the Romans were begun in Italy or Gaul, and supported by the forces of the west. Moreover, the arms of Pompey, of Cassius, and Brutus, and Anthony, who were all followed by the civil war beyond the seas, ended fatally: and in Syria and Judæa the Cæsars were much oftner mentioned than beheld. No tumult or insurrection was ever known amongst the Legions there. Their attacks upon the Parthians were no more than alarms, given with various success. In the very last civil war, whilst elsewhere the rage of dissention was felt, peace remained unshaken here. When afterwards it was divulged, that Otho and Vitellius were with impious arms hastening to seize as a prey the Roman

State; the soldiers, provoked, that whilst others enjoyed wages and rewards for bestowing the Empire, they themselves were only doomed slaves to every Emperor, began to rage, and survey their own strength and numbers. Instantly they counted seven Legions of themselves, with mighty auxiliaries, and the two Provinces of Syria and Judæa in their possession. To these lay contiguous that of Egypt, and two Legions there. On the other hand they beheld Cappadocia and Pontus, with the several forces quartered upon the frontiers of Armenia; Asia too, and the other Provinces, abounding in money, and not destitute of men; with all the isles of the sea, and the sea itself ready to afford them encouragement and safety, whilst they prepared for the war.

The ardour of the soldiery was no secret to the Generals. But they judged proper to await the issue of the war in Europe. "Between the conqueror and the conquered, they concluded no sincere peace, no solid coalition could be established. Neither availed it, whether to Otho or Vitellius fortune awarded the superiority. To wax insolent and wanton upon prosperity, was the lot even of Captains renowned for prowess. Upon these two at all times lay the bane of discord, of sloth, and impotence of spirit, of voluptuousness and prodigality; and by their own vices both would doubtless perish, one through War, the other after Victory." Vespasian therefore and Mucianus postponed the taking up of arms openly, till occasion called them. For of late they had united in their counsels, by the means and mediation of Titus, as did every worthy man with both, from affection to the Commonwealth. Many were excited by the allurements of plunder, others by the desperate situation of their domestic affairs. Thus the good and the bad, from different instiga-

tions,

tions but with equal paſſion, all thirſted vehemently for war.

About the ſame time Achaia and Aſia were alarmed with a falſe apprehenſion, that Nero was certainly approaching. For, as concerning the manner of his death, ſeveral contradictory reports had been publiſhed, it was by many confidently feigned that he was ſtill alive, and by many readily believed. In the ſequel of this Hiſtory I ſhall recount the attempts of other ſuch counterfeits, and their fate. The preſent impoſtor was a ſlave from Pontus, or, according to other authors, the ſon of a freedman out of Italy, well ſkilled in the harp and in ſong; marks which, added to a ſimilitude of features, procured him the quicker credit and aſſent. With mighty promiſes he had gained a number of vagabonds, obliged by their wants to wander, and, accompanied by them, betook himſelf to ſea, but by the violence of tempeſts was caſt upon the iſle of Cythnus. He there drew over certain ſoldiers, who were on their voyage from the eaſt; ſuch as refuſed he ordered to be ſlain, and plundering the merchants, armed all the moſt robuſt of their bondmen. He likewiſe tried by various artifices to corrupt the faith of Siſenna the Centurion, who was then proceeding with a compliment from the army in Syria to the ſoldiers of the Prætorian Guard, namely, that of their right hands preſented in teſtimony of peace and concord: Inſomuch that Siſenna, in great affright, and apprehending violence, ſecretly departed from the iſland, and fled. Hence the terror flew and ſpread, as there were many ſtruck and pleaſed with the revival of a name of ſuch renown, from their conſtant luſt after public changes, and their conſtant diſtaſte of the preſent ſituation.

This mighty rumour, while it grew daily louder and ſpread, was by a ſtroke of chance utterly diſſipated. The government of the Provinces of Gala-

tia and Pamphilia had been by Galba conferred upon Calpurnius Aſprenas, and to convey him thither two gallies from the fleet at Miſenum were aſſigned. With theſe he was now arrived at the iſle of Cythnus: Nor were there inſtruments wanting there to call the Captains of the gallies to attend Nero; for in his name they called them. When they came into his preſence, he aſſumed a ſad air of affliction, and imploring their faith and aid, as of men who had been once his own, beſought them to land him in Syria or Egypt. The Captains, who began to waver, or perhaps meant to deceive him, declared that they would diſcourſe with their ſoldiers, and having brought the minds of all to his devotion, would return to him. To Aſprenas, however, the whole tranſaction was faithfully recounted. By his perſuaſion the ſhip was aſſailed and taken, and that perſon, whoever he were, ſlain. His corps, remarkable for the ſingularity of the eyes and hair, and for features grim and terrible, was carried to Aſia, and thence to Rome.

In Rome, a city ſo rent by the feuds of parties, and, from the frequent change of Princes, become unſtable between liberty and licentiouſneſs, the tranſacting even of ſmall affairs was attended with mighty heat and commotion. Vibius Criſpus, who in wealth, in great talents, and in great authority, was to be numbered rather amongſt men eminent than good, cited Annius Fauſtus to his trial at the Tribunal of the Senate: This was a Roman Knight, who in the reign of Nero had followed the profeſſion of an accuſer. Indeed, very lately, under the government of Galba, the Senate had ordained that the cauſe of the accuſers ſhould be examined; an ordinance which was turned and explained into divers and contradictory meanings, and, juſt according to the condition of the perſon arraigned, proved impotent or valid, as he proved powerful or weak.

weak. Beſides the dread of the decree, Criſpus exerted all his might and influence to overwhelm the man who had been the accuſer of his brother; and had already prevailed with a great part of the Senate to inſiſt, that, without hearing him, and without admitting any defence to be made for him, he ſhould be doomed to execution. With others, on the contrary, nothing argued ſo ſtrongly for the perſon impleaded as the over great ſway of the impleader. Theſe therefore propoſed, that time ſhould be allowed, his crimes ſpecified, and he, however odious and guilty, allowed the common privilege of Romans, that of being heard. This propoſition forthwith prevailed, and the trial was for a few days deferred. In the concluſion Fauſtus ſuffered condemnation, yet not with ſuch unanimous acquieſcence of the city as by his peſtilent courſe of life he had deſerved; becauſe they remembered to have ſeen Criſpus himſelf engaged in the work of accuſations, as a pleader of price. Nor were they diſguſted with the vengeance inflicted upon the crime, but with the avenger.

In the mean time, the firſt motions of the war were propitious to Otho; for, in obedience to him as their Emperor, the armies in Dalmatia and Pannonia marched from thence. They conſiſted of four Legions. Of theſe two thouſand men were diſpatched forward: the body followed with moderate marches; namely, the ſeventh Legion, which was enrolled by Galba; with the other three, all of antient ſtanding, namely, the eleventh, the thirteenth, and the fourteenth; the laſt of ſignal reputation for their ſuppreſſing the revolt in Britain. Nero too had added notably to their glory in chuſing them out as a body of men preferable to all others. Hence their perſevering ſo long in faith and adherence to Nero, and hence their ardent zeal for the cauſe and perſon of Otho. But the more

merous and ſtrong they were, with the more confidence they were filled, and from ſuch confidence advanced very ſlowly. The detachment of horſe and foot arrived ſooner than the main body of the Legions. From Rome itſelf there went a band of men no wiſe deſpicable, namely five Cohorts of the Prætorian Guards, certain troops of Cavalry, and the firſt Legion. Add to theſe two thouſand gladiators, a reinforcement indeed ſordid and diſhonourable, yet uſed in times of civil War, even by Leaders who were ſevere in diſcipline. For Leader of theſe forces he appointed Annius Gallus, who, in conjunction with Veſtricius Spurinna, was ſent before to ſecure both the banks of the Po. For his firſt deſign had been fruſtrated; ſince Cæcina, whom he hoped to have ſhut up within the confines of Gaul, had already paſſed the Alps. There attended the perſon of Otho ſome choſen companies of the body-guard, the remainder of the Prætorian Cohorts, with ſuch of the Prætorian bands as were under the privilege and ſtandard of Veterans, and a vaſt number of Marines. Neither made he a lazy and effeminate march, or one deformed by any feats of voluptuouſneſs, but wearing a corſlet of iron, marched before the Enſigns, on foot, undreſſed, rough, and utterly unlike his picture drawn by common fame.

Fortune ſmiled upon theſe his attempts; ſince, from the advantage of the ſea, and the power of his fleet, he was maſter of the greater part of Italy quite to the borders of the maritime Alps. To force a paſſage over theſe, and to conquer the Province of Narbon Gaul, was an enterprize which he committed to the conduct of Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacenſis. But Pacenſis was baffled and reſtrained by the licentiouſneſs of a diſſolute ſoldiery. Antonius Novellus held no credit or authority amongſt them. Suedius

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Clemens governed loosely, humouring and courting the men from private views of his own, and though, in discipline and military restrictions, negligent and corrupt, yet greedy of encounters and combating. They seemed not to have arrived in any part of Italy, their native soil, or to be marching through the dwellings and families of their countrymen and nation. For, as if they had just landed upon a strange and hostile coast, and had been sacking the cities of mortal and declared foes, they burnt, plundered, and laid waste, without distinction; the more tragically, for that against barbarities no wise dreaded, no sort of means for defence were provided. Covered with grain and cattle were the fields, open and unguarded the houses; while the proprietors, accompanied with their wives and children, went every where forth officiously to meet the host, and, from trusting to the security of peace, found themselves involved in all the horrors and calamities of war. Marius Maturus then governed the maritime Alps, in quality of Procurator. He having arrayed the power of the country, which wants not store of youth, attempted to repulse the forces of Otho from entering his province. But, upon the first shock, the inhabitants of the mountains were dissipated or slain; like men who being precipitately assembled, and unacquainted with the duties of encampment or of command, were insensible of any honour from victory, or of any infamy from flying.

These forces of Otho's, furiously incensed by this opposition and combat, turned their rage upon Albium Intemelium, a municipal town. For in the late battle they found no prey to satiate them: The peasants were poor, and their arms wretched and mean; neither was it possible to take them prisoners, as they are naturally swift of foot, and acquainted with all places of refuge. But at last, by

bringing ruin and desolation upon these guiltless townsmen who had never provoked them, they glutted their avarice. The hate and horror of this their violence was greatly heightened by the glorious example and behaviour of a Ligurian woman. She had hid her son, and being by the soldiers suspected to have with him hid her money, while they questioned her upon the rack, where she had concealed him, she pointed to her belly, and replied, "he lay there." Neither could she, with all their cruelties successively tried, nor even by the agonies of death, be brought to vary from that answer of hers, so undaunted and praise-worthy.

To Fabius Valens news were sent in great hurry and alarm, that Otho's fleet were upon the coast of Narbon Gaul, a Province which had sworn fidelity to Vitellius, and were just upon the point of making a descent. He was likewise beset with Deputies from the colonies, imploring succours. Thither he therefore sent two Cohorts of Tungrians, four troops of horse, with the entire squadron of the Treverians, under the command of Julius Classicus. Of these forces a detachment was retained in the Colony of Forojulium, lest, had the whole marched into the country, the fleet taking the advantage of an unguarded sea, should have been tempted to an immediate descent. Against the enemy there went twelve troops of horse, and a band of chosen men from the Cohorts. To these was joined a Cohort of Ligurians (the antient auxiliaries belonging to the place) and five hundred Pannonians not yet enrolled into companies. Nor was there any lingering in coming to battle; and in this manner they were formed. A detachment of marines with a number of peasants intermixed, were ranged upon the hills adjoining to the sea. Whatever level space remained between the hills and the shore, was covered with the soldiers of the Præ-

Prætorian Guards. To ſupport them in the ſea itſelf, cloſe by, the fleet was ranged, with a front terrible and menacing, turned full upon the foe, and ready to engage. The commanders of the Army of Vitellius, which was inferior in foot, and chiefly relied upon its ſtrength of cavalry, placed their confederates of the Alps upon the ridges of the neighbouring mountains, and the Cohorts in thick ranks behind their front, which conſiſted of horſe. From this diſpoſition, the troops of Treverians advancing, charged the enemy with notable raſhneſs, ſince they were encountered by the veteran ſoldiers, and ſorely annoyed in the flank by volleys of ſtones from the hands of the peaſants, a people dexterous at throwing; and being now interſperſed amongſt diſciplined men, the coward and the brave proved equally daring in an hour of victory. To the diſcomfited there accrued freſh terror and peril from the Fleet, which had advanced and aſſailed them in the rear. They were thus ſurrounded every way, and doubtleſs the whole army had been ſlaughtered, had not the darkneſs of the night reſtrained the conquerors, and covered the flight of the vanquiſhed.

The forces of Vitellius, though overcome, would not acquieſce. Having called in ſuccours, they attacked the enemy while yet elated and ſecure, and abated in their vigilance by ſucceſs. In this aſſault, the guards were already ſlain, the camp forced, and the conſternation carried as far as the ſhips: when the ſudden dread ſubſiding gradually, the diſordered troops betook themſelves to an adjoining hill, and having ſecured themſelves by the advantage of the aſcent, ruſhed reſolutely down upon the aſſailants. Here enſued a mighty and terrible ſlaughter. The Captains of the Tungrian Cohorts, after they had for a great while ſuſtained the battle, were at laſt overwhelmed by a ſhower of darts. Nor in truth to the Army of Otho did the victory prove other-

wise than bloody: indeed many of them, while they incautiously pursued, were cut off by the horse, suddenly wheeling upon the pursuers. And now both Armies returned back, that of Vitellius to Antipolis, a municipal city in Narbon Gaul; that of Otho to Albingaunum, another municipal city in the inland country of Liguria; as if between both a truce had been settled by consent, that neither the Fleet on one hand, nor the Cavalry on the other, should henceforth surprize each other by sudden enterprizes and the tumult of war.

Corsica and Sardinia, with the other islands in these seas, were by the renown of the victorious Fleet preserved under obedience to Otho. But upon Corsica destruction was well nigh brought by an attempt of Decimus Pacarius, who governed as Procurator there: an attempt altogether rash, such a one as in a war conducted by forces so mighty and many, could never avail towards casting the balance, yet to himself proved fatal and sanguinary. For, from antipathy to Otho, he purposed with the arms of that people to assist Vitellius; an assistance impotent and fruitless, had he even succeeded. He called together the chief men of the island, and to them opened his scheme; nay, Claudius Phirricus, Commander of the Gallies there; and Quinctius Certus, a Roman Knight, were, for daring to oppose him, by his order slain. By the execution of these two all the rest of the assembly were sufficiently terrified: so that they first, and afterwards the unthinking multitude, governed by their ignorance, or by adopting the fears of others, all swore allegiance to Vitellius. But as soon as Pacarius set himself to array them for war, and to vex with military duties men naturally wild and impatient of regularity or restraint, they conceived implacable aversion to fatigues never before felt, and began to recollect and discover the weakness of their country; "That

" That the place inhabited by them was an iſland, " and far remote from them lay Germany and the " forces of the Legions. Other nations too were " there, who even while under the protection of " Vitellius's arms, his bodies of foot and ſquadrons " of horſe, were yet invaded, plundered and laid " waſte by the navy of Otho." And, in an inſtant they meditated vengeance and a revolt, yet by no efforts of open violence, but by a ſilent conſpiracy; and, for accompliſhing it, watched a proper opportunity. At a juncture therefore when the crowd, who, upon buſineſs or compliment, had attended Pacarius, were withdrawn, and he himſelf retired to his bath, they there ſlew him, naked and deſtitute of help or defence. They even butchered ſuch acquaintance of his as they found about him. Their heads were, like thoſe of public enemies, by the murderers themſelves carried to Otho. Yet neither were they by Otho diſtinguiſhed with any recompence, nor by Vitellius doomed to any puniſhment; as, in the univerſal uproar of tumultuous times, they remained blended and undiſcerned amongſt many other inſtruments of iniquity ſtill more heinous and crying.

The ſquadron of horſe entitled Silana, had opened a way into Italy, and thither tranſlated the war, as above I have recounted. Not that one ſoul there had any partiality to Otho, nor indeed that to the cauſe of Otho they preferred the cauſe of Vitellius: but by long peace and eaſe they were quite debaſed, ſeaſoned for any bondage from any quarter, become the eaſy acquiſition of the firſt poſſeſſor, and ſtupidly indifferent to a worthier choice. That Region of Italy (of all others the moſt opulent and flouriſhing) which extends from the Po to the Alps, with all its cities and territories, was holden by the forces of Vitellius; for there too had already arrived the Cohorts which Cæcina had ſent thither before him.

him. At Cremona a Cohort of Pannonians were made captives, and between Placentia and Ticinum an hundred horſe were intercepted, as were alſo a thouſand marines. After ſo much ſucceſs theſe ſoldiers of Vitellius were no longer to be daunted and repulſed by ſuch obſtacles as rivers and their banks. The Batavians, in truth, and ſuch as came from beyond the Rhine, found themſelves but the more animated by beholding the Po, which they paſſed with great ſuddenneſs over againſt Placentia, and ſurprizing certain ſcouts, filled all the reſt with ſuch dread, that under the impulſe of tremor and deception, they carried tidings, that Cæcina approached with his whole army.

Spurinna (for he commanded in Placentia) was certain that Cæcina was not yet come, and if he really were advancing, was determined to confine his own men within the fortifications, nor to an army of Veterans expoſe three Prætorian Cohorts, a thouſand vexillaries, and a few horſe. But his men, who were headſtrong, unmanageable, and unacquainted with matters of war, ſnatching up the enſigns and ſtandards, ſallied out tumultuouſly, and againſt their own Commander, while he ſtrove to reſtrain them, turned with menaces the points of their weapons. For they had with indignation rejected the exhortations of the Tribunes and Centurions, who extolled to them the wiſdom and foreſight of their Commander. Nay, they even aſſerted with fierce clamours, that a plot was intended, and Cæcina traiterouſly called in. In this mad proceeding of his ſoldiers Spurinna was made a partaker, at firſt indeed conſtrained to it by violence, anon feigning to chuſe and approve it, in hopes thence to derive the more weight and authority to his counſels, whenever the ſedition ſhould abate.

When they had advanced within view of the Po, and night approached, it was judged neceſſary to

pitch

pitch and fortify their camp; a toil which was utterly new to the City-ſoldiers, and quite abaſhed all their ferocity. Then it was that all they who were moſt grown in years, condemned their own credulity, and diſplayed to others what matter of dread and danger muſt have befallen them, had Cæcina, with the power of a whole army, ſurrounded a few Cohorts in a country on all ſides open. Preſently, all over the Camp, dutiful and ſubmiſſive language was heard; and, as the Tribunes and Centurions had every where mixed themſelves amongſt the men, they all with one voice applauded the prudent care of their Commander, that for the ſeat and bulwark of the war he had choſen a colony ſo ſtrong and opulent. At laſt Spurinna himſelf accoſted them, rather by reaſon reclaiming them, than upbraiding them with raſhneſs and error; and having left certain ſcouts behind him, led back all the reſt to Placentia, in a humour much leſs turbulent, and now ſubmitting to receive orders. There the walls were forthwith ſtrengthened, new bulwarks added, towers raiſed, and not only ſtores of arms ſecured, but duty found with alacrity to obey, the only thing wanting to that party, where in truth there was no defect of reſolution and bravery.

Now Cæcina, as if beyond the Alps he had left all his cruelty, licentiouſneſs and rapine, preſerved in the march of his army through Italy great modeſty and reſtriction. The gaiety of his own apparel indeed paſſed with the Colonies and Free Cities as a mark of arrogance; for that, dreſſed in a military mantle of divers colours, with a pair of drawers on, (a veſtment peculiar to Barbarians) he was wont to entertain ſuch as wore the Roman gown. They were, moreover, offended to ſee Salonina, his wife, mounted upon a beautiful horſe, adorned with purple; as a mighty grievance to all, though by it no man was injured. Such is the ſpirit

rit by nature ingrafted in men, to behold with curious and malignant eyes the recent good fortune of others, and from none to exact a more severe degree of moderation in prosperity, than from such as they have seen no higher than themselves. Cæcina having passed the Po, and by many secret conferences and mighty promises laboured to corrupt the fidelity of the forces of Otho, found himself assailed by the same arts. So that, after many overtures made and returned about peace and concord, names exceeding specious in sound, but void of persuasion and effect, he applied all his devices and care to the siege of Placentia, which he meant to pursue with terrible efforts; for he was aware, that by the success attending the first attempts of the war, common fame would estimate all that were to follow.

The first day, however, passed rather in unguarded feats of violence, than in the wary motions and approaches of a veteran Army. Headlong they advanced and assailed the walls, void of art or precaution, unprovided of shelter, and just gorged with victuals and wine. In this conflict the Amphitheatre, a building exceeding grand and fair, standing without the walls, was burnt down; perhaps set on a flame by the besiegers, while against the besieged they hurled torches, shells, and the like discharges of missive fire; perhaps by the besieged themselves, whilst upon their enemies they poured the same destructive element. In Placentia the populace, ever addicted to suspicion, believed that the fire was fed with fuel treacherously administred by emissaries from the neighbouring Colonies, instigated by a spirit of malignity and emulation, since in all the rest of Italy was not found an edifice so stately and capacious. From whatever cause the conflagration came, it was for the present lightly esteemed, while evils more terrible were impending. As soon as they found their danger over, and their for-

former ſecurity returned, they then bewailed the loſs of their Amphitheatre, as a calamity equally afflicting as any that they couly poſſibly have ſuffered. For the reſt; Cæcina and his forces were repulſed, with much blood and many lives loſt; and all the night following was beſtowed in preparations for the aſſault and for the defence. On the part of the beſiegers were provided moving penthouſes, with other machines and inſtruments at once fit for battering the walls, and for protecting the aſſailants. They within the city furniſhed themſelves with vaſt rafts of timber, quantities of huge ſtones, as alſo of maſſy braſs and lead, to overwhelm the enemy, and cruſh all their works to pieces. On each ſide there prevailed a like fear of ſhame, on each a like paſſion for glory; and both were animated by different exhortations becoming different men. Here was extolled "the invincible ſtrength of the Le-"gions and German Army;" there, "the dignity "of the Cohorts from Rome, and that of the Præ-"torian Bands." The Army without reproached the others, as "ſlothful and ſpiritleſs, corrupted and "debaſed by the licentious amuſements of the "Theatre and Circus;" and were themſelves by theſe reproached, as "aliens and ſtrangers." And at the ſame time, while upon Otho and Vitellius they were heaping applauſe or contumely, they found more copious matter of infamy to animate them in the conteſt than matter of praiſe.

Scarce had the day dawned, ere the walls appeared covered with men for their defence. With arms and armed men the adjoining plains blazed. The Legions marched in battalions cloſe and thick: the Auxiliaries advanced in ſeparate bands, and with flights of arrows and ſtones aimed at the combatants upon the tops of the bulwarks. Where the fortifications were decayed, or not guarded, they attempted to force their way over them. From above,

above, the opponents, with an aim more ſure than that of their adverſaries below, poured down ſhowers of darts upon the German Cohorts, as they were adventuring raſhly to the foot of the wall with ſhouts and chantings horrible to hear, their bodies naked after the cuſtom of the country, and their bucklers brandiſhed above their ſhoulders. The legionary ſoldiers, under the ſhelter of their machines, demoliſhed the walls, raiſed a mound, and preſſed vehemently againſt the gates. They, on the contrary, of the Prætorian Bands, having purpoſely diſpoſed a number of great milſtones, from place to place along the edge of the walls, now rolled them down, with dreadful force, rumbling and deſtruction. So that of the aſſailants, part that were ſcaling the wall, were cruſhed to death, part were pierced with darts; and thus with many ſlain outright, with many miſerably gored, they retreated with the greater loſs, for that the ſlaughter was heightened by their hurry and confuſion, and thence their wounds redoubled from the battlements. Upon the honour of their party they brought by this defeat notable diſcredit and diminution. Moreover Cæcina, ſtruck with vexation and ſhame for having ſo precipitately attempted the ſiege, and reſolved to abide no longer in the ſame camp, where only deriſion was to be reaped, and no advantage gained, repaſſed the Po, and bent his march towards Cremona. Upon his removal there revolted to him Turullius Cerialis with a great number of marines, and Julius Briganticus with a few horſe; the latter a Batavian by nation, and Commander of a ſquadron of horſe; the other a Centurion of principal rank, who having ſerved in that character amongſt the forces in Germany, was thence well affected to Cæcina.

Spurinna having learnt the removal and march of the enemy, tranſmitted an inſtant account to Annius

nius Gallus, that Placentia was saved, with the particulars of the siege, and whither tended the present motions of Cæcina. Gallus was then conducting the first Legion to succour Placentia, from his distrust of the ability of the few Cohorts there to sustain a siege of any length, and his apprehension of the great force of the German Army. As soon as he received information that Cæcina was repulsed, and proceeding to Cremona, such an ardour to encounter him seized the Legion, as drove them even to mutiny; so that Gallus had much difficulty to quell them, and to bring them to rest at Bedriacum, a village situated between Verona and Cremona, and become now unhappily renowned by two signal slaughters suffered by the Romans there. About that time, a battle was successfully fought by Martius Macer, not far from Cremona. For Macer, who possessed a spirit vigorous and bold, having embarked the Gladiators upon the Po, landed them with great suddenness on the opposite shore, where surprizing and routing the auxiliary troops, which belonged to the forces of Vitellius, the rest fled to Cremona, and all who resisted were put to the sword. But the heat of the conquerors, earnest to pursue the slaughter, was repressed, lest the enemy strengthened by a succession of fresh succours, might have changed the fortune of the combat. From this restraint great distrust arose amongst the suspicious soldiers of Otho, men who upon all the proceedings of their leaders, without distinction, put a malevolent construction. In proportion as each particular was remarkable for baseness and cowardice of heart, and for petulance and sauciness of tongue, they set themselves to urge criminal imputations, various and many, against Annius Gallus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus: for upon these likewise Otho had conferred command. But the incendiaries who proved the most fierce and implacable,

were

were they who had murdered Galba. Reſtleſs and mad with guilt and dread, they ſtrove to throw all things into combuſtion and uproar, ſometimes by ſeditious ſpeeches openly uttered, ſometimes by letters conveyed ſecretly to Otho, who, lending a credulous ear to every the moſt abject inſtrument, and fearing all men of uprightneſs and honour, was thus held in diſtraction and alarms, always unſteady and wavering, when his affairs flouriſhed, and ever mended by ſtrokes of adverſity. He therefore ſent for Titianus his brother, and to him committed the rule and direction of the war.

Under the conduct of Paulinus and Celſus, the while, ſignal exploits were done. It afflicted the ſpirit of Cæcina to ſee all his enterprizes abortive, and the great renown of his army waining ſo faſt. From Placentia he had been lately repulſed in perſon; his auxiliaries were more lately cut to pieces; even in the encounters between parties of ſcouts, a ſort of fighting rather frequent than important, he found himſelf overmatched and inferior. And leſt upon Fabius Valens, who was now advancing, the whole glory of the war ſhould reſt, he hurried, with more impatience than circumſpection, to retrieve his honour. Twelve miles diſtant from Cremona, at a place named Caſtores, he ſecretly conveyed all the braveſt of his auxiliaries into the woods which lie juſt above the great road. The horſe were commanded to march further on, and after having engaged the enemy in a warm fray, then to betake themſelves to a voluntary flight, and to humour the purſuit till the haſty purſuers might be opportunely beſet by the forces in ambuſh riſing upon them at once. This ſcheme was betrayed to the Generals of Otho's army, where Paulinus took the command of the foot, Celſus that of the horſe. On the left were ranged the detached troops of the thirteenth Legion, four Cohorts of auxiliaries, and

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five hundred horſe. The great road was held by three Cohorts, in cloſe ranks. Upon the right front marched the firſt Legion, with two auxiliary Cohorts, and five hundred horſe. Beſides all theſe, there were led a thouſand horſe detached from the auxiliaries and Prætorian Guards; a body indeed ſuperfluous, if the reſt proved victorious, or a body of ſuccours, if diſtreſſed.

Before the two armies had joined in cloſe combat, that of Vitellius turned their backs; but Celſus, who was aware of the artifice, withheld his men from purſuing. The forces of Vitellius concealed in the wood, iſſuing thence overhaſtily, were by the management of Celſus, who retired inſenſibly before them, decoyed ſo far in purſuing him, till they themſelves were at once plunged into ſnares on every ſide. For, on both their flanks they were attacked by the Cohorts of the Legions, and the horſe, ſuddenly wheeling, begirt them in the rear. Yet Suetonius Paulinus gave not inſtantly the ſignal of battle to the infantry; as he was a man by nature wary and ſlow, better pleaſed with deliberate counſels ſupported by reaſon, than with proſperous adventures reſulting from chance. He ordered the ditches to be filled, the grounds to be cleared, and his front to be extended; ſince he judged that the time to conquer would then follow abundantly ſoon, when ſufficient precautions were firſt taken againſt all danger of being conquered. By this delay, leiſure was given to the forces of Vitellius to ſhelter themſelves among vineyards, places intricate and hard of entrance through the interweaving and obſtruction of the branches. To the vineyards there adjoined a ſmall wood, from which they ventured to ſally, and ſlew the moſt forward and reſolute of the Prætorian horſe. Here King Epiphanes was wounded, while for the cauſe of Otho he by his own

own example animated the fight with great bravery.

Now, Otho's infantry advanced to the attack. The groſs of the enemy's army was utterly routed, and all the parties who moved to their aſſiſtance, were forced to fly. For Cæcina had not called in the Cohorts to ſuſtain him in a body, but one after another: a circumſtance which greatly heightened their conſternation in the battle; ſince ſupplies which approached thus piece-meal, and never competently ſtrong, were ſtruck and hurried away by the affright of ſuch as fled. In their camp too they made an inſurrection, for that they had not been all led forth againſt the foe. Forthwith they committed to bonds Julius Gratus, the Camp Marſhal, upon a charge, 'as if he betrayed them by ſecret 'intelligence with his brother, who bore arms for 'Otho;' when at the ſame time the ſoldiers of Otho's army had already impriſoned that brother of his, Julius Fronto, under an imputation of that very crime. For the reſt, the diſtraction and dread which every where poſſeſſed the vanquiſhed, not only thoſe who fled, but thoſe who met them in their flight, not only in the field of battle, but in the camp, were then ſo apparent and prevailing, as to create a report current amongſt both parties, 'That had not Paulinus founded a retreat, Cæcina 'and his whole army might have been deſtroyed.' For himſelf Paulinus alledged, 'That he feared the 'great fatigue further to have been undergone, 'with ſo much more way neceſſary to have been 'paſſed, and the advantage given to the forces of 'Vitellius, freſh as they were from their camp, to 'have fallen upon his, juſt tired with marching, 'and deſtitute of ſuccour or refuge, had they ſuffered a defeat.' Some few there were who approved this reaſoning of the General. With the commonalty it paſſed under ſeverer cenſures.

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This loſs and diſgrace ſuſtained by the army of Vitellius, ſerved rather to reform them into duty and moderation, than to inſpire them with diſmay. Not only in the camp of Cæcina, who throwed the whole fault upon the men, 'as more prone to mu-'tiny than to fight;' but alſo among the Forces of Fabius Valens, who was already arrived at Ticinum, it was found that the ſoldiers having quitted their late contempt for the enemy, and conceived a paſſion for retrieving their late fame, were now come to obey their General with much greater reverence and ſubmiſſion. For in the army led by Valens ſome time before, there had raged a furious inſurrection, which I ſhall now deduce from the beginning farther back, ſince it behoved me not to interrupt the detail of the tranſactions of Cæcina. The Batavian Cohorts, the ſame who, in the war between Nero and Vindex, were withdrawn from the fourteenth Legion to return to Britain, upon hearing in the capital of the Gauls called Lingones, that Vitellius was in arms, had there joined themſelves to Fabius Valens, as above I have related. They thence grew haughty and turbulent, and, as often as they paſſed through the quarter of any of the Legions whatſoever, they boaſted in the tents of the ſoldiery, 'That by themſelves thoſe of the 'fourteenth had been forced into the Party, by 'themſelves Italy had been rent from Nero, and 'that in their own hands they held the iſſue and 'fortune of the war:' A heavy reproach to the ſoldiers, a bitter inſult upon the General, a ſore blow to diſcipline, thus corrupted and relaxed, by daily ſtrife and debates. Valens at laſt, from ſuch inſolent ſpeeches, grew to apprehend treaſonable purpoſes. He had news brought him, 'That the 'maritime forces of Otho had defeated the ſqua-'dron of Treverian horſe with the body of Tun-'grians, and beſet the coaſts of Narbon Gaul."

He therefore, as well through a concern for protecting his confederates, as by a military device to separate these Cohorts so very mutinous, and, when united together, so very powerful, ordered one part of the Batavians to march for the succour of the Province. As soon as this order was divulged, the auxiliaries began to lament, the Legions to storm, that, 'they were bereft of the aid of men so signally valiant. If to the city of Rome, if to the welfare and existence of the Empire, that one Province were preferable, they ought all to follow thither. But, if in Italy only could be obtained a victory perfectly decisive and salutary; if there alone were to be fought the grand pillar and stay of the whole; then from Italy these Batavians were by no means to be thus rent, like the most vigorous limbs from the body.' During these strains of sedition vented in great wrath and defiance, when Valens attempted to quell the uproar by sending in his Lictors amongst them, upon Valens himself they fell, assailed him with stones, and pursued him as he fled. 'The spoils, they fiercely cried; the spoils of all the Gauls, the gold of the Viennese with the price and acquisitions of all their own fatigues, were by him treasured up in secret;' then plundered his coffers, searched his pavilion, (the pavilion of their General!) and, with their lances and pointed poles, probed and examined the very ground where it stood. For Valens himself lay concealed under the habit of a slave in the tents of a Captain of horse. By this time Alphenus Varus, Camp Marshal, perceiving that the rage of the tumult was gradually cooling, to extinguish it quite had recourse to a stratagem, by forbidding the Centurions to set the watch or to visit the guard, and by forbearing all sound of trumpet, such as calls the men to the duties of the army and of war. Hence they were to a man struck with astonish-

aſtoniſhment, like men inſenſible: They gazed round upon each other with wild wonder and diſmay, and dreading this very thing that no one appeared to direct and rule them, they betook themſelves to humble ſilence, to patience and reſignation, and in the end to open ſupplications and tears for mercy and pardon. But as ſoon as Valens came forth, his eyes full of tears, his perſon miſerably apparelled, and, beyond all hope, alive and unhurt, there broke out a torrent of joy, of commiſeration, and of fondneſs. What followed was a univerſal change into gladneſs and tranſport, (as in all their paſſions, however oppoſite, the multitude know no bounds) and with ſhouts of applauſe and congratulations, in the midſt of the Eagles and Standards diſplayed, they bore him to the Tribunal. He there manifeſted a moderation altogether wholſome and ſerviceable, nor required the execution of any particular whomſoever. Yet, leſt by diſſembling all knowledge of the guilty, his ſincerity might be but more ſuſpected, he rebuked a few by name, as he was well apprized, that during all civil wars, much greater power may be aſſumed by the ſoldiers than by their Leaders.

Whilſt they were yet fortifying their camp at Ticinum, news arrived of Cæcina's diſaſtrous engagement, and thence the ſedition was well nigh revived, for that Valens, they alledged, had, through premeditated treachery and feigned delays, detained them from aſſiſting at that battle. Forthwith they declared againſt all further repoſe, refuſed to ſtay for their General, hurried away even before the Standards, preſſed forward ſuch as bore them, and continued their march with rapidity till they had joined Cæcina. With the army of Cæcina, Valens bore but an ungracious character. They complained, that they who in numbers were ſo much inferior had been expoſed to the united hoſt of the

enemy; a complaint which implied an excuſe for their own ill ſucceſs, and at the ſame time ſerved to flatter the new-comers by extolling their mighty ſtrength; with deſign, that by the new-comers they might not be ſcorned as a body cowardly and routed. In truth, although to Valens there appertained much greater forces, nay, almoſt double the number of Legions and Auxiliaries, yet the affections of the ſoldiers leaned to Cæcina. Beſides his benignity of ſpirit, in which he was reckoned to excel the other, they were attracted by the bloom and vigour of his age, by his perſon graceful and tall, and even by other motives to favour, altogether unmeaning and vain. Hence an emulation between he two Chiefs. Cæcina derided Valens as one immerſed in crimes and black with infamy, and Valens him as a man vain and pompous. Yet ſmothering their hate, they concurred in conſulting the utility of the ſame cauſe, and in frequent letters of theirs boldly upbraided Otho with his guilt and vileneſs, without all reſerve or view of pardon. Whereas the Commanders in Otho's party forbore treating Vitellius with any invectives and bitter words, though for ſuch treatment abundant matter was adminiſtered.

The truth is, before they came to ſuffer their laſt fate, a fate which to Otho gained immortal fame, to Vitellius moſt glaring infamy, much leſs dreaded were the groſs appetites and ſtupidity of Vitellius, than the abandoned ſpirit and flaming paſſions of Otho. The latter was by the murder of Galba rendered ſtill more terrible and deteſted; the former, on the contrary, was by no man charged with having begun the war. In gluttony and banquetting Vitellius was an enemy to himſelf. In profuſion, cruelty, and daring iniquities, Otho was accounted more threatening and pernicious to the Commonwealth. Upon the conjunction of the forces

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of Valens with those of Cæcina, from the partizans of Vitellius no longer delay or obstruction remained against proceeding to a decisive battle. Otho had recourse to a consultation, whether it were deemed adviseable to protract the war, or to risque the fortune of a battle. Upon this occasion, Suetonius Paulinus judged that a discourse concerning the whole state of the war, would become his own great name for military prowess, in which no General of those times was thought to surpass him. He therefore argued, 'That to the enemy haste and present action were advantageous; but to themselves procrastination and delay. The entire army of Vitellius was now arrived; nor were there any considerable remaining forces to follow after, since the countries of Gaul were still angry and disaffected; and it would be ill policy to divest the bank of the Rhine of its guards, and expose it to nations so implacable, and just ready for an irruption. The soldiers in Britain were with-holden by enemies and seas. Spain was far from abounding in armed men. The province of Narbon Gaul was sufficiently terrified by their defeat, and by the insults and hostilities from the fleet. The region of Italy beyond the Po was enclosed by the Alps, destitute of help from the sea, and even by the passing of the army exhausted and spoiled. No where to be found was any grain for the army; nor without plentiful supplies could an army be maintained. Moreover, were the war protracted till the summer, the Germans, of all the enemy's forces the most formidable, would never endure an exchange so extreme of country and climate, with bodies like theirs loose and languid. Many were the instances of enemies, who in a sudden effort proved potent and prevailing; yet were so wearied and wasted with delays, as utterly to vanish with all their terrors. To themselves, on

'the contrary, there continued all things in abundance, and countries faithfully attached, Pannonia, Mœsia, Dalmatia, the East, with their several armies still intire; Italy, and Rome itself, the head and centre of the Empire; the Senate and Roman people, names at no time obscure, though sometimes overcast with clouds; public and private abundance, and infinite treasure, more prevalent than the sword in all civil dissentions; the bodies of the soldiers either inured to the clime of Italy, or to climes signally hot. In their front lay the river Po; their cities were secure in the strength of men and walls; and that none of them would yield to the attacks of the enemy, was sufficiently learnt from the brave defence of Placentia. Upon these considerations he would do well to protract the war. In a few days would arrive the fourteenth Legion, mighty in renown, and with it the forces of Mœsia. He might then resume the present deliberation, and if fighting were preferred, they should engage with numbers augmented.'

With the counsel of Paulinus, Marius Celsus concurred; and that Annius Gallus entertained the same sentiments, was reported by those who had been purposely sent to learn his advice: for, his horse having fallen with him a few days before, he was still ill of the hurt. Otho was bent upon engaging Titianus his brother, and Proculus, Captain of the Prætorian guards, hurried headlong by rashness and inexperience, were always averring, 'That fortune, and the Gods, and the Deity of 'Otho, all attending upon his counsels, would also upon his enterprizes.' To such sycophancy they had purposely betaken themselves, that no man might dare to thwart their opinion. After it was determined to fight, a doubt occurred, whether it were more advisable that the Emperor should be present

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in the encounter, or remove elſewhere. Paulinus and Celſus, that they might not ſeem to adviſe expoſing the perſon of the Prince to perils, had now dropped all oppoſition. So that thoſe ſame men from whom the worſe counſel had come, obliged him to retire to Brixellum, where, ſecure from the uncertain accidents of battles, he ſhould reſerve himſelf, they ſaid, for the direction of the whole and the great ends of Sovereignty. This was the firſt day that a fatal blow was given to the party of Otho. For, beſides his own departure, with him there not only departed a very brave and powerful band, conſiſting of Prætorian Cohorts, of troops of horſe, and of the body-guard; but the forces remaining loſt all courage, ſince they ſuſpected the fidelity of their Leaders; and Otho, upon whom only the ſoldiers placed all their faith, as, in truth, in none elſe but ſoldiers did he himſelf repoſe any truſt, had left the command of the Generals uncertain and precarious.

Of all theſe tranſactions not one was a ſecret to the army of Vitellius, as deſerters were perpetually paſſing to and fro, a thing uſual in a civil war: And the ſpies, from a keenneſs to learn the meaſures of the oppoſite ſide, did not well conceal thoſe of their own. Cæcina and Valens, without moving themſelves, were intent upon the diſaſtrous motions of the enemy, ſo precipitate and void of foreſight, and coolly awaited their own advantage from the folly of others; a courſe ſupplying the place of contrivance. So that feigning a deſign to paſs the Po, in order to attack the band of Gladiators on the oppoſite ſhore, they began to make a bridge, an undertaking which alſo ſerved to keep their own men the while from a habit of idleneſs and ſloth. Upon the river a row of boats was placed, at equal diſtances, connected by large beams, and by their anchors ſteadily ſecured againſt the weight of the

ſtream, but with cables unſtretched and floating, that when the flood ſwelled, the whole rank of boats might be lifted up without violence to their order. A tower purpoſely reared, and beginning from the furthermoſt boat, cloſed and guarded the bridge, that from thence with their warlike machines they might batter and repulſe the foe.

The ſoldiers of Otho too had erected a tower, from whence they were pouring volleys of ſtones and fire. Moreover in the middle of the river ſtood an iſland, into which the Gladiators ſtrove to convey themſelves in pinnaces, but were prevented by the Germans who reached it firſt by ſwimming. As of theſe a large number had already paſſed over, Macer, who had now filled the pinnaces with the braveſt Gladiators, ſailed thither to attack them. But neither in the Gladiators was there found bravery or perſeverance equal to thoſe of the ſoldiers; nor could they in a reeling poſture from their veſſels ſtrike with ſuch certainty and force as did the others from their firm footing on the ſhore. And when by the many different motions and ſhiftings of men actuated by conſternation and dread, they who fought became mingled with thoſe who rowed, and all were diſordered, the Germans leaping into the water boldly ſeized the veſſels, and by climbing boarded them, or by ſtrength ſunk them. All which tranſactions paſſed under the eye of both armies. Hence the more joy they adminiſtered to the partizans of Vitellius, with the more bitterneſs and deteſtation they inſpired the followers of Otho againſt the author and cauſe of their ſore diſaſter.

The truth is, the fray was parted by flight, the remaining boats having been in great haſte dragged back again. Macer was required to the ſlaughter: nay, he was already wounded with a lance darted at him, and already they had aſſaulted him with their ſwords drawn, when by the ſudden interpoſition

ſition and ſuccour of the Tribunes and Centurions, he was reſcued. Ere long, Veſtricius Spurinna, by the command of Otho, leaving a ſmall gariſon in Placentia, arrived with a ſupply of Cohorts: and ſoon after Flavius Sabinus, Conſul elect, was by Otho ſent to take charge of the forces which had been under the command of Macer, to the great joy of the ſoldiers, pleaſed with the change of Leaders; whilſt the Leaders, ſcared by their perpetual mutinies, abhorred the charge of a ſoldiery ſo miſchievous and unruly.

In ſome authors I find, 'that through the ſhocking apprehenſions of war, or from an averſion and diſguſt to both Princes, two men whoſe infamy and deteſtable crimes were by the voice of common fame grown daily more public and glaring, the armies had deliberated about dropping their enmity and ſtrife, and whether amongſt themſelves they ſhould agree to ſet up a proper Emperor, or refer the choice to the Senate. That hence the Generals of Otho's forces had declared for delays and procraſtination, Paulinus particularly, who conſidered himſelf as the moſt ancient Conſular, as one ſignally renowned in war, and one who, by his exploits in Britain, had acquired much glory and a great name.' For myſelf; as I would allow, that there were a few, in whoſe breaſts cordial wiſhes, but wiſhes ſmothered in ſilence, were entertained for public tranquillity, inſtead of civil uproar and diſſention, and for a Prince worthy and innocent in the place of two, of all men the worſt and moſt bloated with vileneſs and iniquities; ſo neither can I conceive that Paulinus, a man governed by ſuch prudence, could have hoped, in an age abandoned to corruption, to have found ſo mighty a degree of moderation in the common herd, that the very ſame men, who from a paſſion for war had violated public peace, would out of

tenderneſs for peace relinquiſh the war. Nor can I conceive that armies, in languages and manners ſo diſſonant, could ever have been brought to concur in this act of unanimity; or that the Lieutenant Generals and Leaders, men for the moſt part wallowing in prodigality, preſſed by indigence, and under the guilt and horrors of enormities black and manifold, would have ſuffered any Prince over them other than one contaminated with crimes, and engaged to them for their wicked ſervices done him.

The luſt of dominion, ſo ancient and now long ſince rooted in the hearts of men, increaſed with the growth of the State, and when the Empire was full grown, burſt forth with violence. For whilſt the condition of our City was but low, an equality amongſt her citizens was eaſily maintained. But when once the world was ſubdued, when all competitors for power, whether the ſame were great Cities or great Kings, had been vanquiſhed and overthrown, and leiſure was given to purſue riches with ſecurity; then firſt between the Senate and People fierce broils were kindled. Sometimes ſeditious Tribunes inſulted; anon the power of the Conſuls prevailed; and within the City, nay, in the forum, were ſeen the preludes and approaches to a civil war. In a ſhort ſpace, Caius Marius, ſprung from the lees of the Populace, and Lucius Sylla, a man the moſt cruel of all the nobility, having oppreſſed public liberty by the violence of arms, changed it into lawleſs domination. Then followed Pompey, more cloſe and diſguiſed, not more innocent or upright. From thence-forward the only public ſtruggle was for ſovereign rule. In Pharſalia and Philippi the Legions, though compoſed of Roman citizens, departed not from their violence and arms: Much leſs likelihood was there, that the armies of Otho and Vitellius would of their own accord have abandoned the war. Theſe armies too were by the ſame

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wrath of the Deities, by the ſame rage amongſt men, by the ſame motives of wickedneſs and outrage, driven into diſcord and war. That the wars were each of them brought to a concluſion as it were by ſo many ſingle ſtrokes, proceeded from the genius of the Princes, impotent and ſpiritleſs. But in recollecting the diſpoſition of different times, ancient and new, I have digreſſed rather too far. I now reſume the order of tranſactions.

After the departure of Otho to Brixellum, the name and honour of Generalſhip remained with his brother Titianus, the eſſence and authority with Proculus. For Celſus and Paulinus; as no one had recourſe to their counſel and capacity, they bore the empty title of Commanders, and thence ſerved as cloaks for the faults and miſtakes of other men. The Tribunes and Centurions were agitated by perplexity and fear, to ſee men of ſufficiency and ſuperior worth neglected, and the very worſt men bear ſway. The common ſoldiers were chearful and elated, yet diſpoſed rather to canvaſs and interpret, than to obey and execute the orders of their Commanders. It was now determined to move their quarters, and to encamp within four miles of Bedriacum; a march ſo unſkilfully conducted, that in it they were extremely diſtreſſed for want of water, though it was then in the ſpring of the year, and there were rivers on all hands. Here was debated the queſtion about proceeding to battle, as Otho was by importunate letters preſſing them to a ſpeedy deciſion, whilſt the ſoldiers inſiſted to have their Emperor in perſon at the engagement. Several urged for calling over the forces quartered beyond the Po. Neither can it be ſo readily decided what was the beſt courſe which they could have taken, as that it was certainly the worſt which they took. For,

In no ſort like men going directly to the encounter, but like men only proceeding to war, they advanced.

vanced towards the confluence of the rivers Po and Addua; a journey of sixteen miles, and utterly disapproved by Celsus and Paulinus, who declared against 'exposing the soldiers, fatigued with travelling, and loaded with baggage, to an unequal enemy, who being himself light and unincumbered, and having moved scarce four miles, would never lose the advantage of attacking them, either as they marched with their ranks broken, or afterwards while they were separated and entrenching their camp.' Titianus and Proculus whenever they were vanquished in counsel and reasoning, had always, as now, recourse to the prerogative of power. It must be owned there had arrived a Numidian, dispatched by Otho upon a swift horse, with orders conceived in a strain very terrible and bitter: In these, having first reprimanded the Generals for their faint proceedings and want of spirit, he gave command, to commit the cause to immediate trial by the sword; for he was sick with anguish, from delay, and impatient of uncertain hopes.

To Cæcina, the same day, as he was still intent upon the structure of the bridge, there came two Tribunes of the Prætorian guards, and desired a conference. He was already setting himself to receive their overtures, and to return answers, when the scouts in vehement haste, apprized him that the enemy was at hand. The discourse with the Tribunes was thus interrupted, and hence it remained uncertain what they meant to have attempted, whether to betray their party, or to contrive a plot against the enemy, or whether they had some design truly worthy and honest. Cæcina having dismissed the Tribunes and returned to the camp, found the signal of battle already given by Valens and the soldiers under arms.

Whilst the Legions were by the casting of lots ascertaining the order of their proceeding to battle, the

the cavalry sallied forth by themselves, and, which is wonderful to relate, were by a party of Otho's forces, in number much inferior, repulsed, nay, flying for shelter to their ramparts, till by the vigour and menaces of the Italic Legion they were stopped. That brave Legion opposed them with drawn swords, and forced them back to the encounter. The Legions of Vitellius were embattled without any consternation or alarm; for, all sight of an armed host was prevented by a thick coppice, though the enemy was close by. In the army of Otho, fearful and disconcerted were the Generals; against the Generals the soldiers were incensed; mixt and crowded amongst the ranks were the carriages and retainers to the camp, and from a deep ditch on each hand the way was too streight even for an army marching safe from an enemy. Some stood round their standards, others enquired where to find their own. On every side was heard the uncertain clamour of men running and roaming different and uncertain ways. Some thrust themselves into the front, some retired to the rear, just as each found himself prompted by bravery or by dread.

Their minds, yet struck and astonished with sudden terror, were quite cooled and enfeebled by an accession of false joy; as amongst them there were some found who divulged a fiction, that the army had revolted from Vitellius. Whether this report was spread by the spies of Vitellius, or came from the partizans of Otho, and sprung from chance or fraud, remains undiscovered. By it the forces of Otho were bereft of all ardour for battle, nay, accosted the enemy with the salutation of friends: And as they were received with a hostile and threatening murmur, hence many of their own army, unapprized of the cause of such greeting, were seized with apprehensions that they were betrayed. At the same time, the enemy's host fell on and pressed them

hard, with ranks unbroken, and in ſtrength and numbers ſuperior. That of Otho, though disjoined, though fewer and fatigued, yet ſuſtained the fight with notable vigour; and various was the face of the combat, like that of the place, which was embarraſſed with trees and vineyards Here they encountered hand to hand, there at a diſtance by weapons miſſive; in this place with their lines extended; in that by battalions ſharp in the front. Upon the raiſed road they cloſed fiercely, battered each other with their bodies and bucklers, and, rejecting the uſe of darts, with ſwords and axes hewed and broke helmets and breaſt plates. To each other the combatants were well known, their efforts were conſpicuous to all the reſt, and on both ſides they exerted all their might to determine the laſt fortune of the war.

In an open plain between the Po and the highway, two Legions chanced to encounter; the one and twentieth intitled Rapax, ſignal for feats of renown anciently atchieved, in behalf of Vitellius. For Otho engaged the firſt called Adjutrix, one never till then led into the field, but fierce and reſolute, eager for the firſt earnings of glory. The ſoldiers of the firſt having routed the foremoſt ranks of the one and twentieth, carried off their Eagle; a diſgrace which ſo enraged this Legion, that they too in their turn repulſed and broke thoſe of the firſt, and having killed Orphidius Benignus their Commander, deſpoiled them of many enſigns and banners. In another quarter, thoſe of the thirteenth Legion were defeated, by an onſet from the fifth; thoſe of the fourteenth were quite invironed by a numerous hoſt of foes. And Cæcina and Valens were ſtill ſtrengthening their battle with continual reinforcements, when Otho's Generals were long ſince fled. To the former a freſh recruit had arrived of the Batavians led by Alphenus Varus, after he

he had utterly routed the body of Gladiators, who, whilſt they paſſed over in boats, were by the Cohorts poſted to oppoſe them ſlaughtered in the very river. So that theſe troops, already victorious, aſſailed the enemy in the flank; and their centre being thus utterly broken, the forces of Otho betook themſelves every where to flight, bending their courſe towards Bedriacum: A mighty ſpace to run: The ways too were filled and obſtructed by the carcaſſes of the ſlain, and hence occaſion adminiſtered for increaſing the ſlaughter: for in civil wars captives are not converted into ſale and gain.

Suetonius Paulinus, and Licinus Proculus took different routs, both ſhunning that to the camp. Vedius Aquila, Commander of the thirteenth Legion, whilſt he was animated by dread void of diſcretion, became expoſed to the fury of the ſoldiery. While it was yet broad day he entered the camp, and was inſtantly beſet and outraged by the inſults and clamours of all ſuch as were prompt to mutiny againſt their officers, and to run away from their enemies. Towards him they ſpared no violent invectives, nor even violent hands. They charged him as a traitor to his cauſe, and as a fugitive from battle; not that he had really committed any crime; but ſuch is the cuſtom of the crowd, for every man to caſt upon others his own guilt and diſgrace. Titianus and Celſus drew their ſecurity from the night, ſince ere they came, the guards were already poſted, and the tumults of the ſoldiery repreſſed. Annius Gallus had ſoftened and reclaimed them by his intreaties, by his authority and wholeſome reaſoning, 'That they would not add to the heavy diſaſter of 'a battle loſt, by inteſtine rage and the ſlaughter 'of one another. That the only remaining con'ſolation and remedy after their defeat, was that 'of concord and unanimity amongſt themſelves, 'whether the war were now at an end, or whe-

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'ther they rather chose to try again the fortune of 'the field.' Of the generality the courage was utterly sunk; only those of the Prætorian Guards swaggered, 'That they had been no otherwise overcome 'than by acts of treachery, and by no superior bra-'very of the enemy. Nor could the army of Vi-'tellius, in truth, boast of an unbloody victory, 'since their cavalry had been routed, and the Eagle 'of a Legion bravely forced from them. Their 'own forces beyond the Po still remained intire, and 'with them Otho in person. The Legions from Mœ-'sia were advancing; and a great part of the army 'had continued at Bedriacum. These, surely, were 'not yet vanquished; or if that must be their lot, 'more to their glory it would prove to die fight-'ing.' Struggling with such considerations as these, they were variously transported, now to fury, anon to dread: Yet from their present plight, altogether desperate and forlorn, they found themselves more frequently excited to rage than to fear.

Within five miles of Bedriacum the army of Vitellius rested, for the Generals durst not, upon the same day, venture to force the enemy's camp. They moreover entertained hopes of a voluntary surrender. For themselves; as they had only gone forth accoutred for battle, and unincumbered with baggage, they had no other bulwarks than their arms and victory. On the day following it was apparent what a pacific disposition reigned in Otho's army, where even they who had been most fierce and untractable, were lapsing into acquiescence and remorse. From their camp therefore deputies were dispatched: Nor from the generals of Vitellius was the least hesitation found against the overtures of peace. But as the deputies were for some short time detained with them, from thence arose matter of doubt and deliberation amongst those who sent them, as yet unapprized whether their proposals

were

were accepted. But anon, upon the return of the deputies, the gates of the camp were thrown open. Then it was that both armies meeting; the conquerors as well as the conquered burſt into tears, and at once pleaſed and ſorrowing, uttered their deteſtations of the ſad lot of inteſtine wars. Aſſembling now without diſtinction in the ſame tents, they tenderly tended and dreſſed the wounds one of another, ſome thoſe of their brethren, ſome thoſe of their friends. Doubtful were the hopes of all, uncertain their recompences, their only ſure perquiſites were death and woe. Nor was any particular ſo exempt from affliction as not to have ſome dead friend to bewail. For the body of Orphidius the Legate, ſearch was made, and it was burned with the accuſtomed ſolemnity. A few were buried by their relations. The reſt of the common men were buried above the ground.

Otho the while waited for an account of the battle, altogether undiſmayed, and fixt in his purpoſes. The firſt rumours were melancholy but uncertain, till the fugitives from the combat made known the utter defeat. Such now was the zeal and ardour of the ſoldiers about him, that they ſtaid not for what their Emperor would ſay: They preſſed him, 'to preſerve his ſpirit undaunted. There 'remained ſtill freſh forces; and for themſelves, 'they were ready to dare all dangers, to ſuffer all 'extremities.' Neither was there flattery or deceit in what they ſaid. Like men enchanted with ſupernatural impulſe and fury, they burned with paſſion to proceed to battle, to awaken and animate the fortune of their party. They who ſtood at a diſtance ſignified their ardour by extending their hands; they who were neareſt embraced his knees; and keeneſt of all was Plotius Firmus. This was Captain of his guards, and by repeated inſtances beſought him, 'not to abandon an army ſo faithful and zealous,

'ſoldiers

'soldiers so singularly affectionate and deserving. 'In bearing the blows of calamity, more greatness 'of spirit was shewn than in flying from them. 'To support themselves with hope even in spight of 'fortune, was ever the part of the magnanimous 'and brave; as it was that of the timorous and 'spiritless to be drawn headlong by Cowardice into 'despair.' As during these expressions the countenance of Otho happened to unbend or contract, in token of assent or refusal, there followed shouts of joy, or heavy groans. Nor was this spirit restrained to the Prætorian soldiers only, who, as his guards, were attached to the person of Otho; but those who had been sent before the rest out of Mœsia, declared, that in the approaching army the same steady and invincible perseverance in his cause was to be found; and that the Legions had already entered Aquileia. Hence none can doubt but that a war might have been renewed, terrible and tragical, and its issue altogether uncertain to the conquerors and the conquered. He himself had quite renounced all purposes of war, and said,

'To expose wantonly to fresh perils such virtue 'and so much fortitude, is a price which I deem 'too high for the redeeming of my own life The 'higher the hopes are with which you present me, 'were it my choice to live and enjoy them, the more 'amiable and esteemed will be my voluntary death. 'I have made trial of Fortune, as has Fortune of 'me; nor does it avail to compute how short a space 'such trial has lasted, since the greater is the difficulty to possess with moderation that felicity which 'you do not expect to possess long. Vitellius began 'the civil war, and thence sprang the source of our 'struggling for the empire by arms. To me will 'be owing the example of struggling for it no more 'than once. By this rule let posterity judge of 'Otho. Vitellius shall again possess in safety his 'bro-

'brother, his children, and his wife. By me no 'revenge is ſought, neither do I need ſolacements. 'Others have held the ſovereignty longer; in a man-'ner ſo magnanimous none ever yet relinquiſhed it. 'Shall I ever bear that ſuch a number of Roman 'youth, that ſo many noble armies be again cut off 'and raviſhed for ever from the Commonwealth? 'With me let me carry this ſentiment and aſſurance, 'that on my behalf you were all ready to periſh But 'be content to ſurvive me: Nor let us long retard 'one another. Let not me delay your care of your 'own preſervation, nor you me in the purſuit 'of a deſign never to be ſhaken or changed. To 'multiply words about the ſubject of dying, is the 'part of a daſtardly ſpirit. How much I am un-'daunted in this my purpoſe, I deſire you to take 'this ſignal proof, that I complain of no man: 'Since to be arraigning the Gods or men, upon 'the approach of death, belongs only to one who 'wiſhes for life.'

After this diſcourſe, he deſired them to ſpeed away, nor by delaying enrage the conqueror. The young men he preſſed with authority, the old by entreaties, addreſſing himſelf to all with ſingular ſweetneſs and courteſy, in language ſuitable to their different years or dignity. Calm and eaſy were his looks, his ſpeech flowing and aſſured, and he even applied himſelf to chide, as ill judged and unreaſonable, the tears and wailings of his friends. To ſuch as were about to depart, he ordered boats and carriages to be given. All ſuch memorials and letters as were ſignal for ſtrains of zeal towards himſelf, or for bitterneſs and invectives againſt Vitellius, he committed to the flames. He diſtributed money, yet with diſcretion and a ſparing hand, no wiſe like one about to relinquiſh life. Anon perceiving his brother's ſon Salvius Cocceianus, one juſt in the bloom of youth, under the agonies of dread

dread and ſorrow, he ſet about relieving him by conſolatory expreſſions, extolled his tenderneſs, but rebuked his care. 'Could Vitellius, he ſaid, prove 'of a ſpirit ſo implacable and unrelenting, as in re'compence for his whole houſe preſerved in ſafety, 'to refuſe a return of mercy in this ſingle inſtance? 'The clemency of the Conqueror was in truth, no 'more than what he had purchaſed by thus haſten'ing to die: ſince preſſed by no deſperate diſtreſs, 'but at a juncture when his army were craving 'to be led to battle, he had, only for the ſake of 'the Commonwealth, forgone the trial of a laſt 'effort. To himſelf he had acquired abundant 'name, to his poſterity abundant luſtre. It was he 'who firſt had tranſlated the ſovereignty into a houſe 'newly raiſed, after the ſame had been veſted in fa'milies ſo illuſtrious, even the Julian, the Claudi'an, and the Servian. Cocceianus ſhould there'fore with a ſpirit undaunted reſolve to live. That 'Otho had been his uncle he muſt never forget, nei'ther overmuch remember.'

After this, cauſing all who were about him to retire, he repoſed himſelf a while. As he was thus exerciſing his thoughts about his laſt moments, a ſudden tumult interrupted him; for notice was carried him of the uproar and violence amongſt the ſoldiery, who threatened with preſent ſlaughter all who were about to depart, but againſt Verginius particularly aimed their fierceſt vengeance, and even beſieged his houſe, which for his ſecurity he had ſhut up. Otho, having reprimanded the authors of the inſurrection, gave time for audience to ſuch as were departing, and continued thus employed till they were all gone in perfect ſecurity. Towards the cloſe of the day he allayed his thirſt with a draught of cold water. Then calling for two poynards, and having carefully examined the points of both, he placed one under his head. He next took

care

care to be fully assured that all his friends were already on their way, afterwards passed the night in perfect repose, and, as is affirmed, not without sleep. At the first dawn he fell with his breast upon the point of the steel. Upon hearing his dying groans, his freedmen entered, as did his slaves, with Plotius Firmus Captain of his guards; and found no more than one wound. His funeral was dispatched with great expedition: Such had been his own desire, often repeated with earnest suit, to prevent his head from being cut off and exposed to publick derision. The Prætorian cohorts bore his corps with many praises and many tears, kissing his wound, and kissing his hands. At his funeral pile some of the soldiers slew themselves, for no guilt which they had incurred, nor for any dread which they entertained, but purely to emulate the glory of his end, and from their fondness to the person of their Prince. Amongst them afterwards, at Bedriacum, at Placentia, and in other their quarters, this kind of death became frequent. For Otho a sepulchre was raised, of mean structure, and thence like to remain.

Such was the issue of his life, in the thirty seventh year of his age. From the municipal city of Terentium he derived his original. His father had sustained the dignity of Consul, his grandfather that of Prætor. His mother's line was not of equal lustre, yet far from sordid. How he passed his tender years and how his youth, we have before shewn. By two signal feats of his, one crying and horrid, the other exemplary and noble, he has merited from posterity a mighty portion of evil fame, nor less of good. As unworthy the gravity of this my subject I should hold it, to collect fabulous stories, and to amuse with fictions the minds of my readers; so neither would I boldly divest of all credit such traditions as have publicly spread and been handed down as matter of history. The people of Regium Lepidum recount

'That on the day of the battle at Bedriacum, a certain bird, such as was never before seen there, perched upon a neighbouring grove much frequented, and that neither by the great concourse of persons, nor by the flock of other birds flying about her, was she terrified or driven thence, till the moment Otho put an end to his life: She then instantly disappeared; and by such as compared the conjuncture with the events, the beginning and end of the marvellous appearance were found to coincide with the death of Otho.'

The grief and wailings of the soldiers at his funeral, drove them into a fresh mutiny: nor was there any one to restrain them. To Verginius they applied, and with many entreaties, with many menaces, pressed him, now to accept the sovereignty, anon to go as their Embassador to Cæcina and Valens. Already they were breaking into the house, when Verginius, by a back way, stole out and escaped them. Of the Cohorts which lay at Brixellum, the petition was presented by Rubrius Gallus, and for them pardon forthwith obtained; while at the same time by the influence of Flavius Sabinus the forces under his command went over to the Conqueror.

When war had now every where ceased, a great part of the Senate found themselves exposed to extreme and capital danger, even all they who had accompanied Otho from Rome, and were by him afterwards left at Mutina. Thither had word come of the defeat: but the soldiers slighted it as a rumour void of truth; and as they guessed the Senate to be disaffected to Otho, they watched the words of particulars, and wrested to a malignant sense even their countenances and demeanour. At last they proceeded to insult them with invectives and revilings, thence seeking a pretence and introduction to carnage and murder. By another terror too

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the Senators were at the ſame time preſſed, leſt while the party of Vitellius thus prevailed and proſpered, they might be ſuſpected to have been ſlow and cool in taking part in the victory. Together therefore they met full of tremour, perplexed between the two perils, and full of anxiety. Nor had any one concerted a ſcheme or counſel of his own; ſince each reckoned himſelf the ſafer for that the offence was common to many. To the Senators, labouring under ſuch difficulty and dread, a new weight of diſtreſs accrued from the magiſtracy of Mutina, who made them an offer of money and arms. nay, treated them with the high title of Conſcript Fathers; an honour altogether ill-timed.

In the aſſembly there enſued a ſignal debate and conteſt, as Licinius Cæcina arraigned Eprius Marcellus; for that 'he reaſoned in a ſtrain equivocal 'and ſuſpicious.' In truth none of the reſt declared their ſentiments freely. But the name of Marcellus, one abhorred from the memory of the accuſations by him exerciſed, and one ſtill expoſed to public hate, was what prompted Cæcina, that he who was only a new man, and lately aſſumed into the Senate, might by thus declaring enmity againſt men of great name, ſignalize his own. They were appeaſed by the moderation of men more worthy than either. And now they all returned as far as Bononia, with deſign there again to aſſemble upon counſel. In the interval it was preſumed other advices more copious would arrive. At Bononia ſeveral men were poſted upon the ſeveral roads about it, purpoſely to examine every the lateſt comer; and by theſe a freedman of Otho's being queſtioned upon the cauſe of his departure from his Lord, anſwered, 'that he had about him his Lord's laſt will and 'commands: alive indeed he left him, but diveſted of every care ſave ſuch as regarded poſterity,

'having

'having utterly renounced all the enjoyments of 'life and every inducement to continue it.' Hence their admiration of the man, and shame to make further enquiry. And thus at once upon Vitellius were turned the thoughts and obedience of all the Senators.

At their deliberations was present his brother Lucius Vitellius, who now presented himself to be flattered, as did they all to flatter, when on a sudden Cœnus a freedman of Nero's, by an impudent and pernicious lie, astonied the whole assembly. He affirmed, 'that by the arrival of the fourteenth 'Legion, in conjunction with the forces from 'Brixellum, the army which had lately conquered 'was intirely routed, and the fortune of the other 'party retrieved and changed.' What prompted him to such forgery was, that Otho's warrants for post-horses, now growing neglected, might by tidings so joyful be restored to force. Cœnus, in truth, by such carriage was borne in great speed to Rome, and there, a few days after, by order from Vitellius suffered the pains of death. This fiction of his heightened the peril of the Senators, since by the soldiers of Otho the relation was believed to be true. It added notably to their dread, that, upon the appearance of publick council solemnly holden, they had departed from Mutina, and relinquished the party. Nor thereafter did they meet or consult in a body, but every one for himself, till letters from Fabius Valens removed their affright. Moreover the death of Otho, the higher praise it claimed, with the more velocity it flew.

But at Rome the while was felt no sort of terror or alarm. The interludes sacred to Ceres were in their annual course of celebration; and when into the Theatre were brought news credibly attested, 'That Otho had ended his days, and that by Flavi-'us Sabinus, governor of the city, all the soldiers 'in

' in it were drawn to ſwear allegiance to Vitellius,' forthwith upon the name of Vitellius the ſpectators beſtowed their ſhouts and applaudings. Around the Temples the people bore the images of Galba, crowned with laurel, and bedecked with flowers, and piled up heaps of coronets into the faſhion of a ſepulchre cloſe by the lake of Curtius, a place contaminated by the blood of Galba when he periſhed. In the Senate all the many honours deviſed for former Princes at intervals and during a long courſe of reigning, were at once decreed to Vitellius. To theſe were ſubjoined commendations upon the German armies, with public thanks, and an embaſſy ſent to carry them greetings and congratulations. The letters addreſſed by Fabius Valens to the Conſuls were recited, and found to be conceived in terms no wiſe arrogant or aſſuming; but more acceptable was the modeſty of Cæcina, for that he had not preſumed to ſend any.

For the reſt, Italy was afflicted with calamities more oppreſſive and barbarous than during the war ſhe had ſuffered. The ſoldiers of Vitellius, diſtributed amongſt the colonies and municipal cities, let themſelves looſe to ſpoil and ravage, by feats of cruelty and pollution filling and contaminating all places; and, abandoned to univerſal rapine, or compounding for rapine at a price, without any regard had to right or wrong, ſpared neither things ſacred or prophane. There were thoſe too who, under the guiſe of ſoldiers, killed their particular enemies. And the ſoldiers themſelves, as they well knew the country, were every were marking out all well repleniſhed farms, with all the opulent poſſeſſors, and devoting both to plunder; or to fire and ſword without mercy, if any reſiſtance were offered. Nor dared their Generals to reſtrain them; they who were themſelves guilty, and awed by their men. Of the two Cæcina was leſs addicted to avarice,

avarice, but more to court the favour of the soldiery. Valens was infamous for pillage and feats of rapine, and thence blind to the faults and excesses of others. For a good while past Italy had been exhausted and languishing; so that at present, so mighty a force of foot and horse, with such heavy acts of violence, so many depredations and insults, were borne with great difficulty and grievous regret.

Vitellius in the mean time, unacquainted with the successes of his own arms, was marching with the residue of the German army, as to a war still in its vigour. In the winter quarters very few of the old soldiers were left; and by fresh levies hastily made amongst the Gauls, was supplied the just number of men in the Legions remaining behind. To Hordeonius Flaccus he committed the defence of the Rhine; and to his own army added eight thousand men drawn from Britain. Having marched a few days, he had intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum, and that by the death of Otho the war was concluded. He then assembled his men, and from the Tribunal accumulated many praises upon the bravery of the soldiers. As the army now made him a general request, that he would raise to the Equestrian Dignity his freedman Asiaticus, he checked a strain of flattery so disgraceful: Anon, through unsteadiness of spirit, what in the face of the public he had refused, he at a banquet privately conferred, and with the gold ring (the badge of Knighthood) dignified Asiaticus, a slave very infamous and vile, and grasping at power by all wicked ways.

About the same time came messengers with tidings, that to his party had acceded both the Mauritanias, Albinus who in quality of Procurator governed there, being slain Luceius Albinus had been by Nero preferred to the government of Mauritania

ritania ſtiled Cæſarienſis; that of Tingitana he received afterwards from Galba; and thus came to be a leader of no mean force, that of nineteen Cohorts, five Squadrons of horſe, and of Moors a mighty hoſt, a body from their daily exploits in robbing and ravaging, fit for thoſe of war. After the murder of Galba, he became devoted to Otho, and not content with Africa, was meditating a deſcent upon Spain, ſevered from thence only by a narrow channel: A matter of terror to Cluvius Rufus, and he ordered the tenth Legion to march down to the ſhore, as if he had been juſt about to tranſport them. Before hand were ſent over certain Centurions, to conciliate to Vitellius the affections of the Moors; nor proved it a hard taſk, ſo mighty and prevalent through all the Provinces was the renown of the German army. A rumour moreover was ſpread, that Albinus, ſcorning the title of Procurator, had uſurped the enſigns of Majeſty and the royal name of Juba.

As from hence an utter change was wrought in the minds of the people there, they fell upon Aſinius Pollio, who commanded a Squadron of horſe, and ſlew him, a man who was one of the moſt aſſured friends of Albinus. Feſtus too, and Scipio were ſlain, both Captains of Cohorts. Albinus himſelf, as he paſſed by ſea from the Province Tingitana, to that named Cæſarienſis, was murdered upon landing: his wife, who indeed purpoſely preſented himſelf to the aſſaſſins, was butchered with him. Nor into any part of theſe tranſactions, or of any other, did Vitellius make any inquiry. In truth, a haſty hearing was all that he afforded to any affair however momentous, unequal, as he intirely was, to every important deliberation. His army he commanded to purſue their progreſs by land; he himſelf ſailed down the river Arar, utterly devoid of the luſtre and appointments of an Emperor,

but only conſpicuous in the diſplay of his late and ancient indigence, till Junius Blæſus, Governor of the Lyoneſe Gaul, a man nobly born, of a ſoul great and liberal, and of opulence proportionable, furniſhed him with a princely train, and accompanied him in perſon, with great ſtate and magnificence. But by this very behaviour he adminiſtered diſtaſte, though Vitellius diſguiſed his hate under many courteous expreſſions, all ſervile and hollow. To Lyons were come to attend him the Generals of both parties, the victorious and the vanquiſhed. The praiſes of Valens and Cæcina he celebrated in public, and placed them on each ſide his chair of ſtate. Anon he ordered the whole army to march out and meet his ſon, yet an infant. He was brought covered with an imperial coat of armour; his father holding him thus dreſſed in his arms, beſtowed upon him the firname of *Germanicus*, and bedecked him with all the enſigns and decorations peculiar to ſovereign fortune: honours which were conferred upon him in the tranſports of proſperity, and altogether exceſſive, yet ſerved him for conſolation in his enſuing diſtreſs and calamity.

Next, all the Centurions ſignal for their faith and bravery in the cauſe of Otho, were by order ſlain. Hence the principal diſguſt amongſt the forces from Illyricum, and their eſtrangement from Vitellius. Moreover the reſt of the Legions, ſmitten by their intercourſe with the others, and urged by malice towards the German ſoldiery, were already meditating fury and war. He had long poſtponed to admit Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus, and held them like wretches in miſerable expectance. When at length they were heard, the defence which they made was rather what neceſſity forced, than what honour allowed. Upon themſelves they freely took the ſhame of treaſon, and to a fraud deliberately concerted between them, aſcribed 'the long and

'wearisome march before the battle, the great fa-
'tigue of Otho's soldiers, the intermixing the car-
'riages amongst the embattled bands;' with many other incidents purely fortuitous, by them imputed to contrivance. In effect, Vitellius gave credit to the confession of their treachery, and acquitted them as men of sound faith and allegiance. Salvius Titianus, Otho's brother, incurred no sort of peril, as there pleaded for him the instinct and tenderness of nature, and his own impotent spirit. To Marius Celsus was reserved the Consulship to which he had been formerly designed. That Cæcilius Simplex brigued for that preferment by the means of money, and thence sought the destruction of Celsus, was a rumour currently believed, and anon charged upon him in the Senate. Vitellius opposed this intrigue, and thereafter conferred the Consulship upon Simplex, without the intervention of guilt or price. Trachalus was by Galeria, the wife of Vitellius, protected from the pursuits of his accusers.

Amidst these instances of illustrious men under arraignment and terrors, it is shameful to relate that of one Mariccus by birth a Boian, and one of the meanest; who, under the lying pretence of a mission and authority divine, adventured to throw himself upon the favour of fortune during the public struggles, and to provoke the Roman arms. Already, as deliverer of the Gauls, and as a God (for this was the title which he assumed) he had drawn together eight thousand men, and invaded the adjoining villages of the Eduans; when that State, exerting her wonted providence, by arraying the flower of her young men, aided by some Cohorts detatched from Vitellius, routed the mad and visionary multitude. In the fray Mariccus was taken, and soon after thrown amongst the wild beasts; but because they rent him not, the Commonalty, ever gross and stupid, believed him not subject to any

effort of violence, till in the preſence of Vitellius he was put to death.

Neither againſt the Rebels was further vengeance ſhewn, and to a man they eſcaped confiſcation of effects. The laſt Wills of ſuch as died fighting for Otho continued in force, or the law in behalf of thoſe who died inteſtate. In truth, had the Prince ſet bounds to his luxury, he was no-wiſe to be dreaded for avarice. To banqueting and voraciouſneſs he was continually borne by an appetite quite beaſtly and boundleſs. From Rome and all Italy was brought him whatever tends to ſtimulate the palate, with every incentive to gluttony; while with the dinn of carriers loaded with viands, the roads from both ſeas were continually filled. By the expence of magnificent feaſting, the Grandees of the municipal Cities were beggared and conſumed, nay, the Cities themſelves reduced to deſolation. The ſoldiers, by being inured to voluptuouſneſs, and a thorough contempt of their Leader, became debauched from all inclination to military fatigues, from all ſenſe of virtue and bravery. Before him he ſent an edict to Rome, to ſignify that he deferred receiving the name of Auguſtus, and would not accept that of Cæſar; when at the ſame time, from the prerogative of Imperial Power he receded nothing. He likewiſe baniſhed the Aſtrologers out of Italy, and enjoined, under a rigorous penalty, that henceforth no Roman Knight ſhould debaſe himſelf to the exerciſes of fencing and of the Theatre: A practice to which by former Emperors they had been obliged, ſometimes by the force of money, oftener by the violence of power. The Colonies too and municipal Cities, from a ſpirit of emulation, ſtudied by the allurements of price, to engage in ſuch proſtitution every young man ſignal for vicious manners.

Vitellius, upon the arrival of his brother, and the influence of the many prompters of lawleſs power, men

men officiously winding themselves into favour, was now grown more lofty and tyrannical, and thence commanded Dolabella to be slain, the same whom I have already related to have been by order of Otho confined in the Colony of Aquine. Dolabella, upon tidings of the death of Otho, had returned to Rome. This was the charge alledged against him before Flavius Sabinus Governor of the City, by Plautius Varus, a man of Prætorian dignity, and one of Dolabella's intimate friends. The crimes specified were, 'That he had broken out of prison, and presented himself as a new Leader to 'the party vanquished.' The accuser added, 'That 'he had attempted to corrupt the Cohort quartered 'at Ostia.' But all the proof of crimes so sounding and mighty, utterly failing, Plautius fell into remorse, and besought forgiveness too late for an iniquity already fatal. Whilst about a matter so momentous Flavius Sabinus wavered; he was driven from his suspence by a terrible warning from Triaria, wife to Lucius Vitellius, a woman outrageous and merciless beyond her sex, 'to take heed, that 'he exposed not the Prince to eminent danger, by 'courting for himself the fame of clemency.' Sabinus, in his own temper gentle, yet when seized by dread, easy to change, and in the peril of another fearful to involve himself, that he might not seem now to have succoured and upheld the accused, lent his hand to push down a man already failing.

Vitellius, therefore, struck with present fear, and indeed with former rancour, for that Petronia his divorced wife, had been by Dolabella forthwith espoused, sent for him, by letters, from Rome, with directions to avoid the Flaminian road, so great and frequented, and to come round by Terni: there he ordered him to be murdered. To the assassin this course seemed too tedious: at an inn upon the way, as Dolabella lay stretched at length upon the ground,

he cut his throat. Mighty was the hate and abhorrence by his blood derived upon the new reign, a ſample of which was now firſt exhibited in this tragedy. The arbitrary inſolence too of Triaria became more glaring by a ſingular inſtance of meekneſs in the ſame family, that of Galeria the Emperor's wife, who never inſulted the afflicted. Moreover of the like character, benevolent and good, was Sextilia his mother, a lady ever conforming to the virtuous model of primitive times: She is even reported, upon the firſt letters from her ſon, to have ſaid, 'That no Germanicus was born of her 'but Vitellius.' Neither was her mind afterwards elated to joy by any of the charms and inticements of Imperial fortune, or by the general careſſes and aſſiduity of the City; nor in the different fortunes of her houſe felt ſhe any emotion ſave for its adverſity and fall.

Vitellius having departed from Lyons, was overtaken by Marcus Cluvius Rufus. He, forſaking Spain, where he held the adminiſtration, came with many congratulations, much aſſumed gladneſs in his countenance, much real anguiſh in his ſoul, and well apprized that he was aſſaulted by imputations various and highly criminal. Againſt him Hilarius the Emperor's Freedman had urged, 'That upon 'advice of the conteſt of empire between Vitellius 'and Otho, he had attempted to eſtabliſh an inde-'pendent principality, and to appropriate to him-'ſelf both the provinces of Spain: And with this 'view, in the warrants which he had iſſued, the 'name of no Emperor whomſoever was inſerted.' Out of his public harangues the accuſer preſented certain paſſages, which he conſtrued to have been ſo many malignant invectives againſt Vitellius, and ſo many artful baits for popular favour to himſelf. The credit of Cluvius prevailed, inſomuch that Vitellius frankly doomed even his freedman to puniſhment.

niſhment. Cluvius was taken into the claſs of the Emperor's companions and favourites, yet not deprived of the government of Spain, which he ſtill adminiſtered though abſent, after the example of Lucius Arruntius, whom Tiberius Cæſar had detained from his Province through jealouſy and fear. In detaining of Cluvius, Vitellius was moved by no apprehenſion at all. To Trebellius Maximus the like honour was not ſhewn. He had fled out of Britain, ſcared by the fury and menaces of the ſoldiers; and in his place was ſent Vettius Bolanus, then attending in the court.

A ſore torment it proved to Vitellus, that the ſpirit of the vanquiſhed Legions continued ſtill fierce and utterly unſubdued. As theſe Legions were diſperſed over Italy and mixed with the vanquiſhers, they were continually breathing the language of diſaffection and war. Foremoſt in ferocity and ſternneſs were they of the fourteenth Legion, who denied confidently, 'that ever they had 'been vanquiſhed; for that, in the fight at Bedriacum, only the vexillary bands were repulſed; nor 'were the forces of the Legion in the field.' It was therefore reſolved to remand them back to Britain, from whence they had been called over by Nero, and that with them in the mean time the Batavian Cohorts ſhould always quarter, in conſideration of their old quarrel with that Legion. Nor did tranquillity long hold amongſt men thus furniſhed with arms, and thus mutually inflamed by mortal hate. At Turin, whilſt a Batavian arraigned and inſulted an Artificer as having defrauded him, and a ſoldier of the Legion protected the Artificer as his hoſt, the ſoldiers of each ſide flocked together to ſupport their companion. After much railing they were proceeding to ſlaughter, and a tragical battle had enſued, but that two Prætorian Cohorts, by eſpouſing the party of the Legionaries, aſſured them of maſtery,

and intimidated the Batavians as the weaker. The latter Vitellius ordered, as his faithful adherents, to be incorporated with his own army, and the Legion to be led over the Graian Alps, bending their rout so as to avoid Vienne; for of the Viennese too fears were entertained. The night when the Legion marched away, by the fires which in several quarters they left unextinguished behind them, part of the Colony of Turin was burnt down: A disaster which was obliterated, as were many other evils of the war, by the calamities more mighty and consuming which befel other cities. The fourteenth Legion no sooner descended from the Alps, but all the most prone to mutiny turned their ensigns towards Vienne, and were marching thither, till by the union of the better disposed they became restrained, and thus were transported in a body to Britain.

The Prætorian Cohorts proved the next object of fear to Vitellius. First therefore they were separated, then discharged, but sweetened with the compliments of an honourable dismission, and of surrendering their arms to the tribunes, like men who had fully served their term of warfare. But as soon as the war raised by Vespasian waxed hot, they again betook themselves to the exercise of arms, and proved the bulwark of the Flavian party. The first Legion, entitled that of the Marines, was sent into Spain, there to become tame by a course of tranquillity and repose. The eleventh and the seventh were remanded to their old quarters. The thirteenth was ordered to erect two amphitheatres, since Cæcina and Valens were preparing each a public combat of Gladiators, the former at Cremona, the other at Bononia. For upon no counsel or affair was Vitellius ever so intent as to forego his diversions and pleasures.

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He had now in truth with competent diſcretion ſeparated the forces of the diſaffected. Amongſt the vanquiſhing party aroſe an inſurrection which derived its beginning from matter of paſtime, yet ſuch was the number of the ſlain in it as brought freſh hate and horror upon the war. It happened when Vitellius had ſat down to a banquet in company with Verginius. Now the Commanders of Legions and Tribunes uſually adopting the humour and demeanour of the Emperors, practiſe, like them, rigour and abſtinence, or delight in voluptuouſneſs and banqueting; and the common men thence become vigilant and regular, or prone to acts of licentiouſneſs. About Vitellius was only ſeen univerſal diſorder, univerſal drunkenneſs, and all things reſembling rather nocturnal revellings and the debauches of Bacchanals, than an army quartered and the diſcipline of war. In this ſituation two ſoldiers, the one of the fifth Legion, the other from amongſt the auxiliary Gauls, having while they ſported together provoked each other to wreſtle, the legionary ſoldier was thrown, and over him the Gaul triumphed with great ſcorn: hence they who had aſſembled only as beholders, divided ſtrait into two parties very intereſted and angry, and the ſoldiers of the Legions falling with fury upon the auxiliaries, put two Cohorts to the ſword. To this tumult another tumult proved a remedy. Duſt at a diſtance and the luſtre of arms were diſcerned; and inſtantly a general cry ran that the fourteenth Legion had turned back, and was approaching purpoſely to fight. But it proved only the rear of their own army, a diſcovery which baniſhed their concern. They chanced in the mean time to meet a ſlave belonging to Verginius: him they charge as one employed to aſſaſſinate Vitellius, and ruſh at once into the banquetting room, where they inſiſt that Verginius ſhould be put to death. In truth,

Vitellius, even he who was subject to all suspicions, and open to every alarm, entertained not the least doubt about the innocence of Verginius Yet much difficulty he found in restraining the vengeance of men so outrageous, as to demand with vehemence the bloody doom of one who had borne the supreme dignity of Consul, and been once their own General. In all seditions Verginius found himself threatened and assaulted; nor was any one so often as he. Amongst them their admiration of the man still remained, as did his signal fame; but for their offer of Empire rejected, they hated him as having despised them.

On the following day Vitellius heard the embassadors from the Senate, having ordered them to await him there; then entered the camp, and upon the affectionate zeal of the soldiers heaped much applause. But the auxiliaries stormed, that the soldiers of the Legions should dare to commit so much outrage, yet find so much impunity. The Batavian Cohorts therefore, to divert them from venturing upon any tragical exploit, were sent back to Germany: for the Fates were already concerting the rise of war at once intestine and foreign. To their several territories were dismissed all the auxiliary Gauls, in number immense, and levied at the beginning of the revolt, as proper to swell the pomp and terror of the war. For the rest; that the revenues of the empire, already impaired and exhausted, might be able to supply his extravagant largesses, he ordered the number of men in the Legions and auxiliary troops to be retrenched; all recruits were forbid; nay, discharges without distinction were proffered: A deadly blow to the Commonweal, and to the soldiers matter of great disgust; since upon them, now reduced to a few, rested all the military duties before shared amongst many, and they were exposed to returns more frequent

quent of perils and fatigue. Moreover their vigour was daily broken and corrupted by their luxurious living, ſo oppoſite to the antient diſcipline and inſtitutions of our anceſtors, in whoſe days, for the ſupport of the Roman State, virtue was found to excel money.

Vitellius from thence bent his courſe to Cremona, and having there beheld the public ſports exhibited by Cæcina, conceived a longing to viſit the field of Bedriacum, and, with his own eyes, to ſurvey the ſcene and traces of the recent victory: A ſpectacle horrible and tragical, not quite forty days ſince the battle; bodies all rent and deformed; limbs and joints torn from their ſeveral trunks; the carcaſſes of horſes and of men, putrid and diſſolving; the ground dyed and drenched with corruption and gore; all the trees felled, all the corn trodden under foot; the whole a ſcene of deſtruction ſhocking and ſad. Nor fewer were the ghaſtly remains of cruelty and ſlaughter ſtill to be ſeen upon part of the road itſelf, even that part which the people of Cremona had now beſtrewed with roſes and laurel, having reared many altars, and ſlain many victims, according to the ſervile behaviour of foreign nations to their Royal Tyrants: Flights of feſtivity by which, however gladſome at preſent, they anon brought deſolation and the ſword of vengeance upon their own heads. Valens and Cæcina accompanied him, and pointed out the ſeveral quarters of the combat; 'Here the embattled Legions 'ruſhed to the onſet; here the horſe in a body be-'gan the aſſault; from thence the bands of auxi-'liaries encompaſſed the foe' Then the ſeveral Tribunes and Captains recounted and magnified their own feats of bravery; a wild medley of facts and of falſehood, at leaſt of truths heightened by boaſts and invention. The common ſoldiers likewiſe, in a tranſport of joy and ſhouts, turned aſide

from the road, to review the field. From ſpace to ſpace they called to mind every piece of ground where the ſeveral conflicts paſſed; they fixed their eyes upon the high heaps of arms; they beheld the bodies of the ſlain piled up in hills; beheld, and marvelled. Some too there were ſenſibly touched with concern for the variable loſs of all things human, and overcome with commiſeration and tears. But from the ſad ſcene Vitellius turned not once his eyes, and at the ſight of ſo many thouſand Roman Citizens ſlain and unburied, felt no horror. Nay, hence he even found cauſe for much joy, and preſented a pompous ſacrifice to the tutelar Deities of the place: ſo little was he aware of his own doleful fate ſo near at hand.

There followed the combat of Gladiators, by Fabius Valens exhibited at Bononia, whither all the decorations of the entertainment had been brought from Rome. The nearer Vitellius advanced to Bononia, the more debauched and looſe proved his march. Amongſt his military bands were blended bands of comedians and herds of eunuchs, with all the other ludicrous pageantry anſwerable to the genius of the Court in Nero's reign: for of Nero himſelf too, Vitellius always ſpoke with admiration and praiſe. In truth, as often as the former went about ſinging, the other had never failed to follow him from place to place, by no neceſſity conſtrained, as was every man moſt conſpicuous for worth, but purely as the ſold ſlave of voluptuouſneſs, and purchaſed by the price and allurements of gorging. That he might procure to Valens and Cæcina ſome vacant months for exerciſing the Conſulſhip, the term appointed for others was abridged. Of the appointment of Martius Macer to that office, no notice was taken; for that he had been a General in the party of Otho. Valerius Marinus, one deſigned Conſul by Galba, he poſtponed to a fur-

further time; for no offence given, but as a man gentle and patient, and apt to acquiesce under any injury. Pedanius Costa was passed over; one distasteful to the Prince, as having engaged in the design against Nero, and urged Verginius to arms. But for depriving Costa other causes than these were assigned. Nay, to Vitellius, for such instances of partiality, solemn thanks were besides returned, suitable to the habit of tameness and servitude long since established.

Not beyond a few days lasted a cheat and delusion then prevailing, though its first rise and efforts were vigorous and popular. A certain person had started up, alledging 'himself to be Scribonianus 'Camerinus, and that during the days of Nero he 'had, through dread of the Tyrant, lived con-'cealed in Histria; for that, there, still were found 'the followers and possessions of the antient Crassi, 'and, there, yet remained partiality and fondness 'for the name.' As he had therefore assumed a number of associates, fellows the most abandoned, to assist him in conducting his plot, the populace, ever prone to credulity, were already flocking to him with contending zeal; as were some of the soldiers, whether unapprized of the truth, or from a passion for public commotions; when he himself was haled away, as a prisoner, before Vitellius, and questioned, what manner of man he was? When to his words no credit was given, and as his Lord knew him to be Geta his fugitive slave, (such was his name and condition of life) he was doomed to die after the manner of slaves.

Scarce credible it is to recount, to what an amazing degree of pride and senselessness Vitellius swelled, when by his intelligencers from Syria and Judæa, he was informed that the Provinces in the East had taken the oath of fidelity to him. For, the Name of Vespasian, however fleeting the rumours about him

him were, and no wise to be traced to any certain authors, yet employed popular fame, and the mouths of men; and upon the mention of him Vitellius would frequently start. Upon the arrival of this tidings, both Emperor and Army, as having now no rival power to dread, assuming the hostile demeanour of aliens and barbarians, became abandoned to all the excesses of cruelty, lust, and rapine.

Now Vespasian, the while, was carefully weighing the business of war and arms, and estimating the several forces, those at a distance, and those at hand. To himself his soldiers were so devoted, that when before them he took the oath to Vitellius (as a precedent for them to follow) and wished him a prosperous reign, they heard him with disgust and silence. The spirit of Mucianus was no wise indifferent to Vespasian, and even fond of Titus. Alexander, Governor of Egypt, had already engaged in the design. For his own he accounted the third Legion then in Mœsia, since out of Syria it had been translated thither. Hopes too were entertained, that the other Legions in Illyricum would espouse the same interest. For all the armies, wheresoever, had been incensed by the insults and arrogance of the soldiers who were daily arriving from Vitellius; for that these men, in their persons fierce and turbulent, in speech hideous and savage, scorned all the rest as men despicable and inferior. In concerting, however, the scheme of the war, one so arduous and mighty, there intervened frequent hesitation and doubt; and Vespasian, though sometimes confirmed in hope, yet often revolved upon the dangers incurred, and a disastrous issue. 'What 'an awful and important day to him must that 'prove, when he cast himself upon the fate and ca'price of war at the age of sixty, and his two sons 'in the prime of their years? In private pursuits,

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'room was always left for retreat, and for making 'more or leſs uſe of fortune, at the pleaſure of the 'purſuers. To thoſe who ſtrive for ſovereignty, 'no middle lot remains; but reign they muſt or 'periſh.'

Before his eyes he ſet the great ſtrength of the German Army, a thing perfectly known to him who was a military man. 'In the ſtruggles of the 'civil war, his own Legions had no part or trial, 'when thoſe of Vitellius had been the conquerors; 'and amongſt the conquered, complaints were 'found more abounding than force. Slippery and 'frail had public combuſtions and the ſtrife of par-'ties rendered the faith of the ſoldiers, and from 'every individual amongſt them danger was to be 'apprehended. For, in truth, what ſecurity could 'accrue from battalions of foot and ſquadrons of 'horſe, if one particular man or two were reſolv-'ed, by a bold murder, to earn a ready reward 'from the oppoſite party? It was thus Scribonianus 'was ſlain under Claudius; it was thus Volaginius 'his aſſaſſin, from a common ſoldier, came to be 'promoted to the higheſt poſts in the army. A 'much eaſier taſk it were to excite them in a body 'to any deſign, than to eſcape the wicked deſigns 'of particulars.'

Whilſt under apprehenſions like theſe he conti-nued wavering, not only the reſt of the Comman-ders and all his perſonal friends ſtrove to invigorate his hopes, but Mucianus too, after many reaſon-ings with him in ſecret, applied to him openly in the following ſtile. 'To all who de'liberate about 'attempts great and important, it is expedient, that 'they eſtimate whether what they undertake be 'profitable to the State, and to themſelves honour-'able; whether to be readily accompliſhed, at leaſt 'not attended with glaring difficulties. Of him 'too who propoſes the counſel a judgment is to be

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'made, whether to ſupport his counſel he freely
'ventures his perſon; as alſo, if fortune proſper
'the enterprize, upon whom it is that the glory of
'the whole devolves. It is I who call thee, Veſpa-
'ſian, to Imperial Power; a propoſal equally ſa-
'lutary to the Commonweal, as to thyſelf illuſtrious
'and grand: And, with the concurrence of the
'Deities, in thy own hands the iſſue reſts. Nor
'needeſt thou in this propoſal fear any ſhadow of
'flattery. Nearer it borders upon matter of ig-
'nominy than upon matter of praiſe, to be choſen
'Emperor after Vitellius. It is not againſt the
'lively ſpirit of the deified Auguſtus that we have
'a revolt to maintain, nor againſt the old age of
'Tiberius, crafty and cautious; nor, in truth,
'againſt the family of Caligula, Claudius, or Nero,
'a family ſo long eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of
'Sovereignty. Nay, to Galba too, in honour of
'the ancient ſplendor of his lineage, thou didſt
'yield place. Further to linger in acquieſcence
'and ſloth, and abandon the Commonwealth to
'this miſerable lot of debaſement and perdition,
'would argue a ſoul quite cowardly and benummed,
'were it even poſſible that from ſuch a ſtate of ſer-
'vitude thou could reap, as of infamy an inevi-
'table ſtock, ſo an equal ſhare of ſecurity. Al-
'ready elapſed and vaniſhed is the time when thou
'mighteſt have been thought to have entertained a
'paſſion for the pleaſure of reigning. At preſent,
'it behoves thee to fly to the poſſeſſion of Sove-
'reignty, as to a ſhelter for thy life. Can'ſt thou
'forget the doom of Corbulo, how that great Ge-
'neral was murdered? A man for blood and de-
'ſcent more renowned, I confeſs, than we are:
'but Nero too in the ſplendor of his race ſurpaſſed
'Vitellius Ever ſufficiently illuſtrious, in the eyes
'of him who dreads, is the man who cauſes his
'dread. And, that a provincial army may create
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'an Emperor, Vitellius himself is a living example; 'he who had never been bred a soldier, he who 'had no reputation in war, he who was thus pro- 'moted only because Galba was hated. Even 'Otho, who in truth was overcome by no conduct 'in the opposite Leader, nor by any superior force 'of arms, but by his own overhasty renouncing of 'life, is, by the behaviour of Vitellius, rendered a 'Prince great in name, and highly regretted. Yet 'even now he is dispersing the Legions, disarming 'the Cohorts, and daily furnishing fresh materials 'for war. Whatever ardour and bravery might 'have been heretofore found in his soldiers, is wast- 'ed and enfeebled by chambering and riotous liv- 'ing, and by emulating the excesses of their Em- 'peror. At your command you have nine Le- 'gions, intire, from Judæa, and Syria, and Egypt; 'forces by no wars exhausted, by no mutinies de- 'bauched, but men assured by long regularity and 'trial, and accustomed to victory over foreign foes. 'From your shipping and fleets, from auxiliary 'battalions of foot, and squadrons of horse, you 'have powerful succours and reserves. You have 'confederate Kings for your faithful adherents; 'and, what surpasses the assistance of all men, you 'have you own ability and experience.

'To myself I arrogate nothing, further than 'that I be not ranked behind Valens and Cæcina. 'Yet do not therefore scorn Mucianus for an asso- 'ciate, because you find that he pretends not to be 'your rival. I prefer myself to Vitellius, and to 'myself you. Your house was distinguished with 'triumphal honours, and you are the father of two 'sons both in the bloom of life; one of them al- 'ready capable of sustaining the weight of Empire, 'one who in his first essays in war, amongst the 'German Armies, acquired with them too a name 'of renown. Absurd it were in me not to yield

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'the Empire to him whose son I should presently 'adopt, if I myself were Emperor. For the rest; 'of the good and evil of fortune an equal measure 'will by no means accrue to us both; since if we 'conquer, the honour which you shall chuse to 'bestow, I shall enjoy. Risques and dangers we 'shall bear alike: or, which is more eligible, do 'you command these armies here, and upon me 'confer the direction of the war, and the ambigu- 'ous events of battle. More rigidly at this very 'time are rules and discipline practised by the con- 'quered than by the conquerors; as the former are, 'through indignation, through despite, and thirst 'of vengeance, awakened and prompted to mag- 'nanimity; while the others, from a spirit of con- 'ceit and loftiness, and disdain of duty, are lapsing 'fast into effeminacy and languor. Amongst the 'victorious party there are grievous wounds now 'covered and inflamed, such as the war itself will 'not fail to discover and lay open. Nor do I 'place higher confidence in your known vigilance, 'parsimony and wisdom, than in the stupidity, 'folly and cruelty of Vitellius. Add, that safer 'is our lot in war than in peace: for, they who 'consult about revolting, have already revolted.'

After this discourse from Mucianus, the rest grew more confident. They surrounded him, exhorted him, and laid before him the propitious responces of Oracles, and position of the stars. Neither was he exempt from such superstition; he, who coming soon after to be Emperor, retained openly about him one Seleucus a fortune-teller, to guide his counsels, and prognosticate events. In his mind he revolved certain presages past. In his grounds a cypress tree signally tall had suddenly fallen, and on the day following, rising again upon the same foundation, resumed fresh growth and verdure, with more heighth and a thicker trunk: A mighty omen

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and big with felicity, according to the concurring teſtimony of the ſoothſayers; and hence to Veſpaſian, then in his early bloom, aſſurance was given of ſignal grandeur in the State. Yet at firſt, by his inveſtiture with the decorations of triumph, by bearing the dignity of the Conſulſhip, and his renown in vanquiſhing the Jews, the whole preſage ſeemed to have been literally accompliſhed. When he had paſſed through theſe honours, he grew to believe that the Empire was verily the thing preſaged. Between Judæa and Syria ſtands mount Carmel, the place and the Deity of the place bearing the ſame name. Nor is the God diſtinguiſhed by any ſtatue or any temple, but only by an altar reared, and worſhip offered. Such is the primitive inſtitution by tradition preſerved. To Veſpaſian, as he offered ſacrifice there, and while his ſoul was labouring under the agitations of his own occult hopes and views, Baſilides the prieſt, having diligently ſurveyed the entrails, declared, 'Whatever deſign it is 'that thou doſt meditate, O Veſpaſian, whether to 'build a houſe, or to extend thy domains, or to enlarge thy train of ſlaves; to thee is granted a 'ſettlement large and mighty, infinite bounds, and 'multitudes of men.' Myſterious words which popular fame failed not then preſently to diſperſe, nor at this juncture to explain and apply. Neither did ought more commonly employ the tongues of the populace, or furniſh more frequent matter of diſcourſe in his own hearing; as to thoſe who rely upon hope, ſuch ſoothing ſpeeches are more abundantly uſed.

Having now aſcertained their common purſuit, they parted, Mucianus to Antioch, Veſpaſian to Cæſarea; this the Metropolis of Judea, the former that of Syria. At Alexandria firſt was begun the example of transferring the Empire to Veſpaſian, through the haſte and zeal of Tiberius Alexander, who

who brought the Legions there to swear allegiance to him on the first of July. And this was the day kept and solemnized ever afterwards, as the first of his reign; though the army in Judæa took to himself in person the same oath on the third of July, with such signal ardour, that they would not wait the arrival of Titus, who was then on his journey back from Syria: For by him were all the measures taken between his father and Mucianus negociated. By the mere vehemence and passion of the soldiers the whole affair was transacted, without any assembly called, without drawing the Legions together.

Whilst a proper time and place were awaited for beginning the revolt, and it was yet uncertain who should declare first, a circumstance of eminent difficulty in transactions of this moment; whilst his mind was still exercised with the impulses of hope and of fear, with the call and dictates of prudence, with the force and operation of casualties; once when he came forth from his chamber, certain soldiers, in number very few, posted in their usual order and station, as if they had been ready to salute him by the wonted name of General, saluted him by that of Emperor. Thither then instantly thronged all the rest, and upon him accumulated the titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and every one else peculiar to Sovereignty. His spirit now relinquished fear to follow fortune. In his aspect nothing of loftiness appeared, nothing arrogant, nor any new behaviour under his new character. As soon as he had recovered the full use of his sight, dazzled at first by the glare of a change so sudden and so mighty, he spoke to them in the language and spirit of a soldier, and received returns of wishes and acclamations altogether affectionate and manifold. Mucianus, who only waited for these glad tidings, administered to his soldiers, who were themselves in truth chearfully disposed, the oath to Vespasian. He

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then went into the Theatre at Antioch, the place where that people are wont to assemble upon all matters of deliberation; and there, to the crowd flocking to attend him, and abandoned to humour him with all servile sycophancy, made an harangue: For, even in the Greek eloquence he could acquit himself with abundant grace, and possessed a particular talent, of heightning with notable pomp whatever he spoke, and whatever he acted. Nothing so effectually enflamed the province and the army as what Mucianus affirmed, 'That it was the 'fixt purpose of Vitellius to transplant the German 'Legions into Syria, there to enjoy a service full 'of gain and full of tranquillity; and, in exchange, 'to convey the Legions in Syria to cold encamp-'ments in Germany, a horrid climate, and a sad 'scene of fatigues.' The truth is, not only were the inhabitants of Syria well pleased with the soldiers their accustomed guests, and in many instances were linked with them in blood and alliances; but to the soldiers too, from their ancient settlement there, their quarters were become natural and familiar, and dear as their own native dwellings.

Before the fifteenth of July the whole Province of Syria had taken the same oath. To the party too there acceded King Sohemus with the forces of his kingdom, a power very considerable; as did Antiochus, mighty in wealth long since acquired, and of all the Kings who were vassals to Rome, the most opulent. Presently after Agrippa, roused by expresses secretly dispatched from his friends in the East urging him to leave Rome, departed ere Vitellius was aware of his design, and returned with great expedition by sea. Nor with less vigour did Queen Berenice support the same interest, then in her full bloom of youth and beauty, and even to Vespasian, old as he was, very agreeable for her liberality and magnificent gifts. Allegiance was likewise sworn

by

by all the maritime Provinces extending to Asia and Achaia, and by all the midland regions bordering upon Pontus and both Armenias; countries however where the Lieutenant Generals their Governors, ruled without armies: for, hitherto there were no Legions quartered in Cappadocia. At Berytus a council was established for the direction of all momentous affairs. Hither repaired Mucianus with a train of General Officers and Tribunes, and of all such Centurions and private men as made a splendid appearance. From the army too in Judæa came a number of those who were accounted the principal ornaments and glory of the camp. A multitude so mighty of foot and horse, with the pomp and parade of Kings, striving to surpass each other, furnished the appearance of the court and grandeur of an Emperor.

The first step taken for prosecuting the war, was to enlist men, and to recall to the service the dismissed veterans. For the forging of arms fortified Cities were allotted. At Antioch money was coined, gold and silver. And all these undertakings were, in their several quarters, diligently dispatched by careful and capable inspectors. Vespasian himself was continually applying to all, continually pressing and encouraging them: The deserving he animated by commendations, the lazy and slow by his example more frequently than by correction; ever more forward to be blind to the vices of his friends and followers than to their virtues. Many of them he preferred to the rule of particular districts, many to be Comptrollers for the Emperor in the Provinces, several to the dignity of Senators; men who proved of signal merit, and thereafter acquired the highest honours in the State. Some there were whose defect of virtue was supplied by fortune. Of any donative to the soldiery, neither did Mucianus, in his first speech, present them with any other

other than very narrow hopes, nor in truth did Vespasian, in the heat of civil war, propose one higher than others had been wont to propose during full peace; as he was a Leader of exemplary firmness against courting the soldiers by largesses, and thence followed by an army better and more uncorrupt. To the Parthians and Armenians Embassadors were sent, and provision made, that when the Legions were withdrawn to prosecute the civil war, the countries behind should not be left naked and defenceless. It was resolved that Titus should push the war in Judæa, and Vespasian seize the straits leading into Egypt. To encounter Vitellius part of the forces were judged sufficient, with Mucianus for their Leader, and the name of Vespasian, and propitious fate, which scorns all terror and every obstacle. To all the Armies and Generals letters were sent, with orders, 'That the Prætorian soldiers, who bore 'enmity to Vitellius for discharging them, should 'be invited to arms by the offer of a reward, even 'that of restoring them to their former station.'

Mucianus at the head of an expedite band, and acting like a collegue rather of the Empire than a minister of the Emperor, proceeded on his march, neither with a lingering pace, lest he should be thought to pause and procrastinate, nor with notable haste, since he would allow space for fame to swell the terror of his approach; as he was well aware, how few his forces were, and that of things remote and unseen much higher are the apprehensions than the reality. After him however there marched a huge body, the sixth Legion and thirteen thousand Vexillaries. The Fleet he commanded to be removed from Pontus to Byzantium; wavering in opinion, whether he should not let alone Mœsia, and leading his forces foot and horse strait to Dyrrhachium, beset at the same time with his Gallies the sea towards Italy; since by this course he should leave

leave Achaia and Asia in perfect security behind him him, countries which, were they left without the protection of forces, would be exposed, void of arms and defence, to those of Vitellius. Thus too Vitellius himself would be perplexed what quarter of Italy to guard, when he found Brundisium and Tarentum, as also the coasts of Calabria and Lucania, at once assaulted by hostile fleets.

Throughout the Provinces, therefore, there prevailed the mighty uproar of warlike preparations, those of ships, and of men, and of arms. But nothing proved so great an embarrassment as where to procure funds of money. This Mucianus urged to be the sinews of civil War, and therefore, in all processes and trials, regarded neither law nor right, but only mighty treasure. On all hands accusations and delinquencies were framed; and every man noted for wealth was ensnared and consigned to spoil: Afflicting grievances, and indeed intolerable; for which, however, the craving necessities of war furnished then an excuse. Yet afterwards too they were continued, even during peace. Vespasian himself, it is true, in the beginning of his reign, was not wont to be rigorous in authorizing acts of injustice and oppression; but afterwards, encouraged through the continual caresses of Fortune, and by wicked counsellors mistaught, he learnt the art, and pursued it confidently. Out of his own treasure too Mucianus helped to support the war; thus liberal of a private sum, which he was sure to repay, with large amplifications, out of the public. The rest contributed money after his example; but it was rare to find any favoured with the like latitude in recovering their share.

In the mean time, the undertakings of Vespasian were notably quickened by the zeal found in the Illyrian army. In Mœsia, the third Legion revolting to his party afforded thence an example to the

others

others there, namely, the eighth and the seventh, entitled *Claudiana*, both personally devoted to Otho, though they had not been in the last fight. They had indeed advanced as far as Aquileia, and there meeting melancholy tidings of Otho, used them who brought the same with outrage, rent to pieces the standards bearing the name of Vitellius, nay, at last, making spoil of the public money, and sharing it amongst themselves, acted with open hostility. Hence consciousness and dread possessed them, and from their dread proceeded their counsel and contrivance, 'That to Vespasian they might urge as matter of service and merit these deeds of violence, 'for which else they must plead submission and excuses to Vitellius.' Insomuch that these three Legions in Mœsia sent letters to solicit the army in Pannonia into the confederacy, and, if they refused, were preparing to have recourse to force and the sword. During this combustion, Aponius Saturninus Commander in Mœsia attempted to perpetrate a crying enormity, by dispatching a Centurion to murder Tertius Julianus, Colonel of the seventh Legion, purely to satiate his own particular pique and vengeance, which he now disguised under other names, and for his motives alledged the cause and interest of the party. Julianus, who had learnt his peril, furnishing himself with guides acquainted with the situation of the country, fled through the desarts of Mœsia quite beyond the mountain Hæmus. Nor thenceforward was he engaged in any transaction of the war; for though he undertook a journey to Vespasian, he prolonged it by divers pretences and delays, and, according to the quality of the tidings brought him, speeded or lingered.

Now in Pannonia the thirteenth Legion, and the seventh called after the name of *Galba*, acceded without hesitation to the cause of Vespasian; as, for the defeat at Bedriacum they yet retained much grief and wrath, and yielded to the instigations of An-

tonius Primus, foremoſt of all in ſpirit and vigour. This man, ſubject to the ſentence of the law, and under Nero condemned for falſification, amongſt the other evils of war, had recovered his rank as a Senator. Being by Galba preferred to the command of the ſeventh Legion, he was believed to have made frequent applications to Otho by letters, offering to ſerve him in capacity of a General: But, neglected by Otho, he remained without part in that war. Then when the fortune of Vitellius appeared to be falling, he betook himſelf to that of Veſpaſian, and to the cauſe proved an addition mighty and momentous, as he was brave in his perſon, a prompt ſpeaker, a rare artiſt in bringing other men under hate and diſguſt, a powerful man in popular tumults and uproar, rapacious, profuſe, one during peace altogether wicked and corrupt, in war too conſiderable to be ſlighted. The Mœſian army and that of Pannonia having thus joined, drew after them the ſoldiers in Dalmatia, though in this movement the conſular commanders had no participation. In Pannonia Titus Ampius Flavianus, bore rule, in Dalmatia Poppeius Silvanus; two men very wealthy and very old. But in thoſe quarters was then found Cornelius Fuſcus the Procurator, one in the vigour of his age, and his deſcent illuſtrious. He had in his early youth, from a paſſion for ſolitude and repoſe, diveſted himſelf of the dignity of a Senator. He afterwards defended his own Colony, as leader in behalf of Galba, and having for that ſervice gained the employment of Procurator, at this time embraced the party of Veſpaſian, and to the flame of war added moſt furious fuel. In the rewards of perils he delighted not ſo much as in the perils themſelves, and to acquirements long ſince attained and ſafely poſſeſſed, preferred new purſuits, however doubtful and dangerous. Wherever therefore they diſcovered minds eaſy and diſtempered, there they exerted all their might

might to blow up disaffection and rage. Into Britain dispatches were sent, to the fourteenth Legion, others into Spain, to the first; for that both had engaged, for Otho and Vitellius. Over all the territories of the Gauls too letters were dispersed. And thus in a moment blazed forth a war extensive and terrible, as the armies in Illyricum were openly revolting, and all the rest watching the tendency of fortune, and ready to follow it.

Whilst these things were transacted in the Provinces by Vespasian and the Leaders of his party, Vitellius waxed daily more contemptible, daily more stupid and resigned to sloth. In all the Villas and great Towns through which he passed, every pleasure and every diversion proved a bait to stop him: and thus he proceeded to Rome with an host vast and cumbersom. There accompanied him threescore-thousand armed men, a body utterly dissolute and licentious; of underlings and attendants of the camp a larger number, with a swarm of sutlers, a crew known to be, by the bent of nature, even of all slaves the most disorderly and impudent. Add the train of so many principal officers, that of so many of the Emperor's friends; a multitude untractable to the rules of obedience, even though with a strict hand the reins of authority had been holden. The crowd, great in itself, was further surcharged by the arrival of the Senators and Roman Knights, who came from Rome to meet the Emperor; a compliment which some paid from fear, many from flattery, others, and by degrees all, because they would not be singular and remain behind when the rest were going. Of the rabble there flocked thither all who through the merit of former services, however low and infamous, were known to Vitellius, Buffoons, Mimics, and Charioteers; as in familiarities thus disgraceful he felt marvellous pleasure. Neither were the Colonies alone and municipal Cities consumed by furnishing such vast supplies

of proviſion, but as the grain was then ripe, the husbandmen themſelves and their lands were ſtripped and laid waſte, like a hoſtile ſoil.

Many and barbarous were the murders by the ſoldiers committed amongſt themſelves, ever ſince the inſurrection at Ticinum; as towards one another the Legions and the Auxiliaries ſtill harboured mutual rancour, though in conteſting with the Peaſants they were always unanimous. But the heavieſt ſlaughter was perpetrated ſeven miles from Rome. Here Vitellius cauſed to be diſtributed amongſt his ſoldiers a quantity of meat ready dreſſed, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of Gladiators; and the populace coming in droves to the camp, were ſcattered all over it. Some of theſe aiming at a feat of archneſs in vogue with them, while the ſoldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts without being perceived, and then aſked them merrily, why they were not begirt with their ſwords? The ſoldiers not wont to be ſcorned, could not bear ſuch mockery, and with their ſwords drawn fell upon the people, deſtitute of arms and defence. Amongſt others was ſlain the father of one of the ſoldiers whilſt he was accompanying his ſon: he was ſoon after known, and upon his death being divulged, they ceaſed ſlaughtering innocent men. In Rome however great dread prevailed, for that the ſoldiers running thither before the hoſt, were perpetually arriving and roving about. The Forum was the quarter to which they moſt eagerly repaired, from an earneſt curioſity to behold the place where Galba fell. Nor leſs horrible was the ſpectacle which in their own perſons they afforded, their bodies covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, and carrying javelins huge and maſſy, both in their coverings and their weapons ſavage and grim, in behaviour too equally hideous: For, whenever they were preſſed

preſſed by the throng of people, which they wanted diſcretion to ſhun, or whenever they tumbled through the ſlipperineſs of the ſtreets, or were thrown down by the jolt of any one who was paſſing, they betook themſelves to threats and clamour, and then inſtantly to violence and their arms Already too the Tribunes and Captains of horſe, followed by bands of armed men, were bounding to and fro with great terror and parade.

Vitellius himſelf mounted upon a ſtately ſteed, and in his coat of armour, with his ſword girt on, was advancing from the Milvian bridge, making the Senate and People to paſs on before him: but being reſtrained by the advice of his friends from entering the City in his warlike dreſs, as if the ſame had been taken by the ſword, he put on the robe of a Senator, and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific. In the front were borne the Eagles of four Legions, round about them an equal number of Standards belonging to other Legions, next twelve Enſigns of ſo many ſquadrons of horſe, then the files of infantry, and behind them the cavalry: There came after thirty-four Cohorts diſtingiſhed ſuitably to the diverſity of their nations or of their arms. Before their ſeveral Eagles marched the Camp Marſhals, the Tribunes and principal Centurions, all apparelled in white raiments. At the head of their ſeveral companies the other Centurions appeared glittering with arms, and their military gifts diſplayed. The chains alſo of the common ſoldiers, and the trappings of their horſes yielded a reſplendent ſhew. The whole a glorious ſight, and an army worthy of an Emperor not reſembling Vitellius. In this ſtate he entered the Capitol, and there embracing his mother, dignified her with the title of *Auguſta*.

The next day he made a public ſpeech, and in it, as if he had had for his audience the Senate and People

of another City, uttered very high and pompous things of himself. Upon his activity and temperance particularly he bestowed many lofty praises, even in the presence of such as had beheld his vile doings and excesses; as indeed had all Italy, through which he had marched in a course most infamous, continually intoxicated and drowned in voluptuousness. The crowd, however, ever void of thought and care, and, without discerning truth from falsehood, only skilled in the flights of flattery become long since habitual, broke out into an uproar of wishes and acclamations; and, as he refused the name of *Augustus*, they pressed him so that he accepted it, but to as little purpose as before he had denied it.

In a City like Rome, prone to pass censure upon every transaction whatsoever, it passed for an omen of evil portent, that Vitellius, who was created chief Pontif, had on the eighteenth of July published his edict concerning the celebration of solemnities divine; a day holden inauspicious from antiquity downward, for that on it happened the tragical overthrows at Cremera and Allia. So unattentive he was, and unknowing in ordinances human and religious: And, as amongst his freedmen and friends equal stupidity was found, he behaved as if he had none about him but men infatuated and drunken. Yet in holding the assembly for creating Consuls, he assisted with apparent moderation, and towards the candidates as no other than their equal: Nay, studying to gain the good graces and applause of the rabble, he courted them by frequenting the Theatre as a spectator amongst them, and the Circus as a partizan; actions, when proceeding from principles of virtue, truly engaging and popular, but in him accounted unseemly and vile, upon remembrance of his former life. Into the Senate he often came, even when the deliberations

tions there were about things of small moment; and as Helvidius Priscus, Prætor elect, chanced to offer his sentiments against those of the Emperor, he at first waxed angry, yet no further than to call upon the Tribunes of the people to support his authority thus brought under contempt. Anon, upon the interposition of friends, who dreading deeper resentment, accosted him with mitigations, he made answer, 'Nothing new had happened, that in the 'Commonwealth two Senators should be of dif-'ferent opinions: he himself too had been wont 'to oppose Thrasea.' Many ridiculed the impudence of the comparison. To others it proved well pleasing, that in representing an example of true glory, he had mentioned Thrasea, and none of the minions of power.

For Captains of the Prætorian Guards he appointed Publius Sabinus, raised from the command of a Cohort, and Julius Priscus then only a Centurion. Priscus held his authority from the interest of Valens, Sabinus from that of Cæcina. Between these two favourites, always at variance with one another, no portion of power remained to Vitellius. All the functions of Sovereignty were administred by Cæcina and Valens, men long since imbittered by mutual hate, which even during war, and amidst armies, had been ill-disguised, and was now highly enflamed by the malignity of their several friends, and indeed by the genius of the City, ever fertile in producing seeds of enmity; whilst they strove to excell each other in credit and sway, in greatness of train, in numerous levees and dependents, and whilst by others, comparisons were made of their influence and grandeur. Various too and wavering were the inclinations of Vitellius, now partial to one, anon to another. Nor, in truth, can ever any certain assurance be placed in the possession of authority which knows no mea-

ſure. Add that they deſpiſed Vitellius and dreaded him, as a man by every guſt of paſſion, or by any wild ſtrain of flattery, apt to be ſuddenly changed. Yet this rendered them not the more ſlack or remiſs in ſeizing for themſelves fine houſes and gardens, and the wealth of the Empire, whilſt to all the many nobles by Galba recalled with their children from exile, a multitude very indigent and deplorable, no ſort of ſupport was adminiſtred by the Prince, no acts of compaſſion ſhewn. That he had reſtored to ſuch as were returned from baniſhment their juriſdiction over their Freedmen, was a conceſſion well pleaſing to the Grandees of the City, and what even the populace approved. Though this kindneſs was rendered intirely abortive by the fraud of theſe ſervile ſpirits who conveyed their money into hiding-places, or lodged it for ſecurity in the hands of men powerful at Court. Nay, ſome of them having entered into the family of the Emperor, became more mighty than their Lords and Patrons.

Now the multitude of ſoldiers being ſuch as the camp could not contain, the reſidue, when that was full, quartered in the publick Portico's or in the Temples, and were continually roaming all over the City. They grew unacquainted with their ſtations and places of arms, kept no watch, nor by any exerciſe or fatigue preſerved their vigour. Surrendering themſelves to the voluptuous inticements of the City, and to practices too abominable to be named, they impaired their bodies by idleneſs, their courage by feats of lewdneſs and riot. At laſt, renouncing all regard even to health, great part of them betook themſelves to the malignant quarters of the Vatican. Hence followed great mortality amongſt the common men. The Germans too and Gauls, who have bodies very ſubject to diſeaſes, as they now lay upon the banks of

of the Tiber, were become quite baned through the extreme heat, which they could not bear, and through an intemperate delight in cooling themſelves in the ſtream. Moreover the ſtate and order of the ſoldiery, either by the efforts of malice or the drifts and intrigues of ambition, was quite vitiated and broken. A body was formed of ſixteen Prætorian, and four City Cohorts, each containing a thouſand men. In this enrolment Valens aſſumed the larger ſhare and ſuperior direction; for that he claimed the merit of having redeemed Cæcina himſelf out of impending peril. It is indeed certain, that to his arrival the party owed its vigour and revival, and by a ſucceſsful battle he had ſtayed the ſevere rumour and impreſſions occaſioned through the ſlowneſs of his march. Add that all the ſoldiers of the lower Germany were wholly attached to the perſon of Valens. Hence, it was believed the fidelity of Cæcina firſt began to fluctuate.

For the reſt, Vitellius gave not ſuch abſolute ſcope to the Generals, but that to the humours of the ſoldiers he allowed a latitude much larger. Every particular changed his place in the ſervice as he liſted: One deſired to be enliſted into the City Troops, and however unworthy, was admitted becauſe he himſelf preferred it: Others again, deſerving of that ſervice, were ſuffered to continue in the Legions or auxiliary Squadrons, if ſuch was their own choice. Nor were their wanting ſome who choſe it, as they were afflicted with diſeaſes, and full of complaints againſt the intemperate heat of the climate. Yet from the Legions and auxiliary Squadrons their principal ſtrength was withdrawn, and the uniformity and beauty of the camp at Rome aboliſhed; ſince theſe twenty thouſand men drawn from the whole army, were rather mingled at random than choſen with diſcretion. As

Vitellius was making a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, they demanded the execution of Aſiaticus, Flavius, and Rufinus, Leaders amongſt the Gauls; for that they had raiſed war in behalf of Vindex. Neither did Vitellius repreſs ſuch daring clamours: for, beſides that he had a ſpirit naturally impotent and ſtupid, he was ſenſible that the day for the donative approached, and as the money ſtill was wanting, he copiouſly granted the ſoldiers every other conceſſion. Upon all the Freedmen of the former Emperors a tribute was impoſed in proportion to the number of their ſlaves. He himſelf, who was only ſolicitous to diſſipate and confound, erected ſtables for the uſe of Charioteers, filled the Circus with ſpectacles and combats, thoſe of Gladiators, thoſe of wild beaſts; and as in the moſt flowing plenty, wantonly ſcattered treaſure.

Moreover, Cæcina and Valens, in celebrating the birth-day of Vitellius, exhibited public entertainments of Gladiators in every ſtreet, with tranſcendent pomp and parade, and till that day unknown. A notable matter of joy it proved to all the profligate and debauched, as to the virtuous it gave ſore diſguſt and regret, that in the field of Mars upon altars purpoſely reared, Vitellius ſolemnized the obſequies of Nero. Victims were publicly ſlain and burnt, the torch for kindling the ſacrifice was even adminiſtred by the Auguſtal Prieſts, an order conſecrated to the Julian Family by Tiberius, like that to King Tatius by Romulus. Four months were not yet elapſed ſince the victory for Vitellius was gained, and already his manumiſed ſlave Aſiaticus was come to equal the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and all former Imperial Freedmen, by whatever other names long ſince known and abhorred. In that Court no man ſtrove to riſe by virtue or ability. One only road there was to power, namely by the means of conſuming banquets, by extravagant

extravagant expences and efforts in beastly luxury, thus, to gorge the appetites of Vitellius, ever craving and never satiated. He, who judged it sufficient to enjoy present pleasure, and troubled himself with no deliberations about concernments future, is believed in so very few months, to have scattered in prodigality near thirty millions of crowns. The City, so mighty and so miserable, in the space of one year bore the burden of Otho and of Vitellius; and, between such sons of wickedness as Vinius, Fabius, Icelus, and Asiaticus, subsisted under a lot disgraceful and various, till to them succeeded Mucianus and Marcellus, and in truth rather different men than different measures.

The first revolt declared to Vitellius, was that of the third Legion, by letters from Aponius Saturninus, dispatched before he too had joined the party of Vespasian. Yet neither had Aponius transmitted all and the worst, as he himself was struck with dismay upon a turn so violent and sudden; and the Emperor's friend soothing him with flattery, softened the ill tidings with constructions overstrained and favourable, 'That it was no 'more than an insurrection of a single Legion; in 'all the rest of the armies firm faith was found.' Vitellius too in his speech to the soldiers reasoned in the same strain, and inveighed again the Prætorians lately discharged; 'As by them, he asserted, 'lying rumours were published, and that there 'was no ground to fear a civil war.' The name of Vespasian he took care to suppress; and all over the City soldiers were roaming, with directions to silence the bruitings amongst the populace: A precaution which proved the chief incentive to augment the public rumour.

From Germany, however, from Britain and both Spains, he sent for succours; but in a manner

negligent and slow, as he studied to conceal the necessity which pressed him. Neither in the Provinces, and Commanders of the Provinces was there found less remissness and lingering. In Germany Hordeonius Flaccus, who already suspected that by the Batavians rebellious designs were entertained, was thence solicitous about a war which threatened himself; as was Vettius Bolanus about the posture of Britain, a country never settled in perfect composure: and in truth both Flaccus and Bolanus were wavering in their views. Nor in Spain was any forwardness or expedition shewn. Over it there then presided no ruler of Consular dignity. The Commanders of the three Legions there, men equal in authority, and such as during the prosperity of Vitellius would have contended for priority in acts of submission and observance, equally concurred to desert his falling fortune. In Africa the Legion and Cohorts levied by Clodius Macer, and anon by Galba discharged, upon orders from Vitellius returned to the service: The youth too of the Province offered themselves to be enlisted, with signal alacrity. For with great uprightness and popular favour had Vitellius ruled as Proconsul there; as had Vespasian in the same quality with ignominy and public hate. From hence our allies drew their conjectures concerning the reign of each; but the same were falsified by trial.

Moreover Valerius Festus, Governor of the Province, promoted the zeal and inclinations of the people, with exemplary fidelity at the beginning: In a short space he began to halt, and whilst to the eye of the public, he in letters and edicts, asserted the cause of Vitellius, he by secret intelligence encouraged Vespasian; like a man who, whether this or that side prevailed, was resolved to maintain the justice of the stronger. Certain soldiers and centurions as they passed though Rhætia and the Regi-

ons

ons of Gaul, with letters and edicts from Vespasian, were seized and carried to Vitellius, who doomed them to execution. A greater number, concealed by faithful friends, or by artifices of their own, escaped detection. Thus all the measures and dispositions of Vitellius came to be daily known, whilst the counsels and schemes of Vespasian remained, for the most part, undiscovered, at first through the sloth and improvidence of Vitellius, and afterwards the guards posted upon the Pannonian Alps obstructed the arrival of intelligence. The sea too, by the constant blowing of the Etesian wind, afforded a favourable passage to the east, but denied one from thence.

At last, upon the irruption of the enemy into the boundaries of Italy, dismal advices on all hands arriving, thoroughly alarmed him, and he ordered Cæcina and Valens to prepare for taking the field. As Valens, who had just then arisen from a severe sickness, was staid by weakness, Cæcina was sent forward. The appearance of the German army, so awful upon its late entry, proved far different upon this its departure: No robustness in their bodies, no vigour in their souls, their march lazy and slow, their ranks open and thin, their arms untrimmed and losely borne, their horses foggy and lifeless; the men grown too delicate to bear the sun, or dust, or weather, and the more listless to labour they were, the greater propensity they had to disobedience and mutiny. To the rest must be added the qualities of Cæcina their Commander, the arts by him long since practised to court and humour the soldiery, with his indolence lately acquired, like one by the overflowing benignity of fortune quite unbent to excess and riot. Or perhaps having already conceived designs of treason and desertion, it was an effort of his policy to break the spirit and bravery of the army. Very

many believed that, through the addreſs and intrigues of Flavius Sabinus, and by the interagency of Rubrius Gallus, the mind of Cæcina came to be ſhaken, under aſſurances that, whatever ſtipulations were made previous to his changing of ſides, Veſpaſian ſhould confirm. He was likewiſe reminded of his old jealouſy and hate towards Fabius Valens, that being unequal to him in favour with Vitellius, it behoved him to think of earning betimes countenance and authority from the new Prince.

Cæcina, after Vitellius had embraced and diſmiſſed him with high marks of honour, departing from Rome, ſent forward part of the Cavalry to poſſeſs themſelves of Cremona. Anon followed the Vexillaries of the * fourteenth and ſixteenth Legions; next the fifth and the twenty-ſecond Legions. The rear of the hoſt was compoſed of the one and twentieth, ſurnamed *Rapax*, and of the firſt, called *Italica*, accompanied by the Vexillaries of the three Britiſh Legions, and a choſen band of Auxiliaries. After the departure of Cæcina Fabius, Valens wrote to thoſe forces which he had been wont to lead, 'To ſtay their march and await his coming; for 'that thus it had been ſettled between him and Cæ'cina.' The latter, who was preſent amongſt them, and thence his words of more weight with them, feigned to them, 'That this counſel had been ſince 'changed, on deſign that with the whole might of 'all their forces, they might be ready to ſuſtain a 'terrible war juſt impending.' He therefore ordered the Legions to advance with diſpatch to Cremona, and ſome part to repair to Hoſtilia. He himſelf turned away to Ravenna, under colour of conferring with the Fleet. Anon he proceeded to Pa-

* Here ſeems to be a miſtake which the Commentators have not with any certainty removed.

via, as a ſecret ſcene proper for concerting the meaſures of treaſon. For, Lucilius Baſſus, who from the command of a ſquadron of horſe had been by Vitellius preferred at once to that of two Fleets, one at Ravenna, the other at Miſenum, becauſe he was not preſently appointed Captain of the Prætorian Guards, revenged his unreaſonable animoſity by deteſtable treachery. Nor can any certainty be had, whether he drew Cæcina into his own guilt, or whether the ſame pravity of ſpirit prompted both; an event uſual amongſt wicked men, who being wicked, are alike. In accounting for this their revolt, the hiſtorians of the time have aſſigned motives apparently deviſed to flatter the Flavian Family, under whom they compoſed the relation of this war; namely, 'That Baſſus and Cæcina were 'guided by a ſincere concern for public peace, and 'affection for the Commonwealth.' It is my own opinion, that, beſides the temper of the men, naturally light and unſteady, beſides their utter contempt of faith and conſcience, after they had once betrayed their truſt to Galba, they were likewiſe inſtigated by jealouſy and deſpight, and that, rather than others ſhould ſurpaſs them in intereſt with Vitellius, they would overthrow Vitellius himſelf.

Cæcina having rejoined the Legions, employed many and various devices to ſeduce and alienate the affections of the Centurions and common ſoldiers, of themſelves ſtrongly devoted to Vitellius. By Baſſus, who was engaged in the ſame taſk, ſmaller difficulty was found; as the Fleet, who remembered how lately they had ſerved under Otho, were very ſupple to abandon their faith to Vitellius.

THE

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK III.

The SUMMARY.

The Forces of Veſpaſian, *at the inſtigation of* Antonius Primus, *and under his leading, arrive in Italy. Military tranſactions in ſeveral places, and ſome light encounters. The Fleet at Ravenna revolts to* Veſpaſian. Cæcina *diſcovers his treaſonable purpoſes, but is ſeized and impriſoned by his own ſoldiers. The battle at Bedriacum; the army of* Vitellius *overthrown, yet, ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of freſh Legions, renew the battle, even in the night, but are again overcome. The Camp at Cremona aſſaulted, at laſt taken by ſtorm. The great ſlaughter there. Cremona itſelf ſacked and burnt down.* Vitellius *the while drowned in luxury; his feats of cruelty: he orders* Publius Sabinus *to be put in bonds,* Junius Blæſus *to be ſlain.* Fabius Valens *advances againſt* Antonius, *but learns the late overthrow, and flies attended only by a few: he is taken at ſea.*

Commo-

Commotions in Britain, in Germany, in Dacia. Vespasian's *Generals march towards Rome.* Vitellius *orders the passes of the Appennine to be guarded, but anon, weary of the war, makes a treaty of pacification with* Sabinus, Vespasian's *brother. The treaty broken by the violence of the German soldiers: They force* Sabinus *to seek refuge in the Capitol, besiege him there, storm the Capitol, and burn it to ashes. The exploits of* Lucius Vitellius, *the Emperor's brother, in Campania. The whole Forces of* Vespasian *arrive at Rome; which, after much resistance and many encounters, they enter: The terrible havock and licentiousness which ensue. The tragical death of* Vitellius. *These transactions all of the same Year.*

WITH fortune more propitious and greater fidelity did the Leaders of Vespasian's party pursue their measures for war. At Petovio, the winter quarters of the thirteenth Legion, they met for consultation, and there deliberated, 'Whether to content themselves with only 'guarding the passes of the Pannonian Alps, till 'their forces from all quarters behind them had advanced in a body to join them; or, by a resolution more daring, march forward and venture a 'struggle for Italy.' They who held it adviseable to await the arrival of succours, and to protract the war, magnified 'the might and renown of the German Legions. Moreover there had since arrived 'with Vitellius the chief strength of the army in 'Britain. With themselves they had a smaller number of Legions; these Legions were lately routed, 'and though in words they were undaunted and 'terrible, yet still in men once vanquished less bravery was found. But by securing the Alps, they 'should have leisure to expect Mucianus advancing 'with the bands of the East. To Vespasian there 'would still remain the command of the Sea, of 'Fleets,

'Fleets, and of the Provinces, all affectionate to 'his cauſe; a ſcource whence he might raiſe mate- 'rials ample enough even for another and a freſh 'war. Thus, by a prudent and ſalutary delay, 'new forces would certainly accrue, and of the 'former none would be loſt.'

In anſwer to theſe reaſonings, Antonius Primus (who in truth from the beginning, had with infinite ardour incited the war) argued, 'That to 'themſelves diſpatch was altogether advantageous, 'and only pernicious to Vitellius. A greater ſhare 'of ſloth and indolence had poſſeſſed the conque- 'rors, than of valour and ferocity; as men no 'longer inured to the regularity of a camp and 'prepared for feats of war, but ſeparated over all 'the great Towns of Italy, reſigned to idleneſs 'and eaſe, and dreadful to none but their hoſts. 'Nay, the more furious and ſtern they former'y 'had been, with the more greedineſs they ſwal- 'lowed pleaſures ſo raviſhing and new. More- 'over, by haunting Theatres and the Circus, and 'following the delightful paſtimes at Rome, they 'were utterly ſoftened and debauched, or by diſ- 'eaſes utterly waſted. But, were time allowed 'them, their ancient vigour would ſtill return, by 'their application to the cares and purſuits of war. 'Not far from them lay Germany, from whence 'a ſure recruit of forces; beyond the Channel, 'Britain; juſt by, France; as alſo both Spains; 'from all a ready ſupply of men, and horſes, and 'contributions; Italy too itſelf in their poſſeſſion, 'with the immenſe treaſures of Rome. And 'ſhould they reſolve, for prevention, to recur to 'offenſive arms, they were furniſhed with two 'fleets, and the Illyrian ſea was open. What 'would then avail the ſtreights and defence of 'the mountains? what the protracting of the war 'till another ſummer? Where, in the interval,

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'was money to be had, where proviſions? Doubtleſs, much better it were to improve the occaſion preſented by the ſoldiery; for that the Pannonian Legions, who had been deceived rather than vanquiſhed, were impatient to ſignalize their vengeance; and with them the armies of Mœſia had brought forces diminiſhed by no defeat. If upon the number of men ſtreſs were to be laid, rather than upon the number of Legions, in this hoſt was to be found ſuperior ſtrength, nothing diſſolute, and, from a ſenſe of diſgrace, diſcipline amended. The horſe, in truth, were not even then defeated, but, though the iſſue proved unfortunate, had routed the cavalry of Vitellius. Yes, two Squadrons from Pannonia and Mœſia, in that fight, pierced quite through the ranks of the enemy. At preſent were united the banners of ſixteen Squadrons; a body who with the ſhock and thunder of the onſet, nay, with the very cloud raiſed by them, will not fail to overwhelm and cover yonder troops of horſemen and their horſes, both become unacquainted with feats of war. The ſame meaſures which I adviſe, if I am not reſtrained, I will purſue. You who are yet free to follow fortune on either ſide, ſtay and with you detain the Legions. To me a few Cohorts lightly equipt will be ſufficient. Anon you will hear that I have opened my way into Italy, and ſhaken the power of Vitellius. You will then be glad to follow, and travel in the track of one who had conquered for you.'

Theſe and the like ſtrains he uttered with eyes darting fire, with a voice fierce and vehement, to be thence further heard, (for into the Council the Centurions and ſeveral ſoldiers had conveyed themſelves) and with ſuch effect, that he moved and influenced even ſuch as were moſt cautious and provident. The crowd and the reſt loaded him with

praiſes,

praiſes, and ſcorning the reſolutions of the others as cold and ſpiritleſs, extolled him as the only brave man, the only vigorous leader. This renown of his he firſt acquired in the late military aſſembly, where the letters from Veſpaſian were publicly recited. For, there he reaſoned not, like moſt others in a ſtile equivocal and obſcure, with intent to wreſt the interpretation hither and thither, as intereſt ſhould require: He appeared to have fallen into the ſubject of debate with openneſs of expreſſion, free from all diſguiſe, and hence became more acceptable to the ſoldiers, ſince he thus offered himſelf as a ſharer in their lot, whether of guilt or of glory.

The ſecond to him, in authority, was Cornelius Fuſcus the Procurator. He too was wont to treat Vitellius with implacable invectives, and therefore had left himſelf no room for hope upon ill ſucceſs. Titus Ampius Flavianus, a man both by nature and old age ſlow and irreſolute, provoked the ſuſpicion of the ſoldiers, as if he too well remembered his affinity with Vitellius; as likewiſe, for that having upon the firſt uproar of the Legions betaken himſelf to flight, and then of his own mere motion returned, he was believed to watch an occaſion for executing ſome traiterous purpoſe. For, Flavianus, after deſerting Pannonia, and arriving in Italy at a diſtance from hazard, gave way to a paſſion for public innovations; whence he was prompted to reſume the command of Lieutenant General, and to imbroil himſelf in the ſtrife of civil arms. He was excited by the perſuaſions of Cornelius Fuſcus, out of no need that he had of any vigour which was in Flavianus, but only for the luſtre of a Conſular name, as an honourable pretence to recommend a party, juſt labouring to riſe.

Now to render the march into Italy ſecure and ſucceſsful, letters were ſent to Apponius Saturninus,

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to follow in haſte, with his army from Mœſia. And that the Provinces thus bereft of their armies might not lye expoſed to the inroads of the barbarous nations adjoining, the Chiefs of the people Jazyges (a nation of the Sarmatæans) that is, thoſe amongſt them who ſway their Community, were taken into a fellowſhip in the war, and retained in pay. They alſo offered their populace to the ſervice, and their power of horſe, in which only their whole force lies. This civility was rejected, leſt whilſt we were engaged in ſtruggles at home, they ſhould undertake to aſſail us from without, or perhaps upon larger reward from the oppoſite ſide, renounce all regard to truſt and obligation. Into the party were drawn Sido and Italicus, Kings of the Suevians, noted for their long reverence and conſtant duty to the Romans; as their people too were more obſervant of their plighted faith. On the ſide towards Rhætia guards of Auxiliaries were poſted, as a country breathing great hoſtility to the cauſe, and under the Government of Portius Septiminus the Procurator, a man in his fidelity to Vitellius ſtedfaſt and incorruptible. Sextilius Felix was therefore ſent away with the Squadron of horſe ſtiled *Auriana*, eight Cohorts, and the youth of Noricum under arms, to poſſeſs himſelf of the bank of the Oenus, a river flowing between Rhætia and Noricum. But, while neither ſide would venture an engagement, the grand competition was determined elſewhere.

Whilſt Antonius, with great diſpatch, conducted a body of Vexillaries taken from the Cohorts, and part of the horſe, to invade Italy, he was accompanied by Arius Varus, an officer ſignal for bravery in war; which renowned character, he derived from having ſerved under Corbulo, and been engaged in the ſucceſsful atchievements of that great Captain in Armenia. The ſame man was ſaid, in ſecret conferences

conferences with Nero to have accuſed Corbulo, and blackened his merit and great qualities. Hence by favour infamouſly gained, he roſe to the rank of a principal Centurion; a promotion which for the preſent proved matter of joy, but as it was wickedly obtained turned afterwards to his overthrow. Now Antonius and Varus, when once they had taken poſſeſſion of Aquileia, were admitted into all the neighbouring Towns, and particularly received at Opitergion and Altinum, with many demonſtrations of joy. In Altinum, a garriſon was left to oppoſe the Fleet at Ravenna; for of its revolt news were not yet arrived. Then they ſtrengthened their party with the addition of Padua and Ateſte. There they learnt that three Cohorts of Vitellius, with the Squadron of horſe called *Scriboniana*, had erected a bridge at Forum Alienum, and were poſted there. To aſſail this band, lying void of circumſpection (for this too was reported) the opportunity was gladly taken. At the dawn of day they ſuddenly encountered and ſubdued them, moſt of them unarmed. Previous orders had been given to the aſſailants, to content themſelves with the ſlaughter of a few, and by terror to conſtrain the reſt to exchange their allegiance. There were indeed ſome who inſtantly ſurrendered: The greater part, by flying and breaking the bridge, eſcaped the violence of the foe.

After the victory was grown public, and as to the party of Veſpaſian the firſt actions of the war had proved proſperous, there arrived at Padua two Legions both zealous for that cauſe, the ſeventh ſirnamed *Galbiana*, with the thirteenth name *Gemina*, and Vedius Aquila its Commander. There a few days were allowed for repoſe: The while, Minucius Juſtus, Camp Marſhal of the ſeventh Legion, was ſent away to Veſpaſian, and thus ſnatched from the fury of the ſoldiers, for that he exerted

exerted an authority over them more rigorous than ſuited with a civil war. Antonius at this time accompliſhed a thing, which having been long wiſhed, was through popular conſtruction heightened into a feat of high glory, by cauſing the Statues of Galba, which by the violence and viciſſitude of the times had been thrown down, to be reſtored to their wonted place and reverence in all the municipal Cities. For he judged that by appearing to approve the reign of Galba, and to countenance the revival of his party, credit would be derived upon his own.

It was then examined, which was the moſt proper place for the ſeat of war; and Verona was preferred, as it was ſituated amongſt ſpacious plains, fit for encounters of horſe, in which their prime force lay: Beſides it was deemed an exploit of notable advantage and renown, to deprive Vitellius of a Colony ſo powerful and opulent. In their march they became maſters of Vicetia; an acquiſition which, though ſmall in itſelf, (for it is a City of mean force) paſſed for one of mighty moment, when it was conſidered that in it Cæcina was born, and from the General of the enemy the place of his nativity was ſnatched. The poſſeſſion of Verona was a valuable prize, and by its wealth and example ſtrengthened the party. Moreover, by this ſituation, the army having hemmed in Rhætia and the Julian Alps, had precluded all acceſſion of forces from Germany: Meaſures which to Veſpaſian were either not known, or by him forbidden; for he ordered, that beyond Aquileia, no efforts of war ſhould be made, but there the coming of Mucianus be expected. To his authority he added reaſoning, 'That ſince Egypt, ſince the magazines for ſupplying Italy with proviſion, ſince the revenues of 'the moſt opulent Provinces, were all under his 'power; the army of Vitellius, through want of

'grain

'grain and pay, might be constrained to come 'over.' Mucianus in repeated letters urged the same counsels, contending for 'a victory void of 'slaughter, and exempt from tears and sorrow;' with the like false colourings, but in reality from a passion for gaining all the glory, and studying to reserve for himself the intire honour of the war. But, from quarters of the world so remote these counsels arrived after the affairs were determined.

Antonius therefore making an excursion extremely sudden, assaulted the quarters of the enemy; where having in a light encounter tried their vigour, they parted on both sides upon equal terms. In a short space, Cæcina pitched his camp between Hostilia, a village in the territory of Verona, and the marshes of the river Tartatus; secure in his situation, as behind he was defended by the river, on each side by the marsh. What he wanted was fidelity; else it was in his power, with the whole forces of Vitellius under his command, either to have utterly overwhelmed such a small band as two Legions, or driven them back again, and forced them to abandon Italy by a shameful flight. But Cæcina framing manifold delays, traiterously sacrificed to the enemy the first season and opportunities of fighting; continuing by letters to reprimand them, when by arms it was easy to have routed them; till by the intercourse of messengers he had settled the stipulations of his disloyalty. In the mean time arrived Aponius Saturninus, with the seventh Legion, named *Claudiana*. Over the Legion there commanded Vipstanus Messalla, in quality of Tribune, a man sprung from a race signally noble, in his own person illustrious, and the only one who upon worthy designs engaged in that war. To these forces, no-wise equal to those of Vitellius, (for as yet they were no more than three Legions) Cæcina sent letters. In them he condemned their rashness,

raſhneſs, that men juſt vanquiſhed ſhould again venture upon arms. The bravery of the German army he diſplayed in high flights of praiſe. His expreſſions of Vitellius were ſcanty and no other than common; and againſt Veſpaſian not a contumelious word was dropt. In concluſion, nothing was ſaid tending either to tempt the enemy, or to terrify them. In anſwer, the Leaders of Veſpaſian's forces, without excuſing their paſt conduct and fortune, mentioned Veſpaſian in ſtrains very high and ſwelling, expreſſed mighty aſſurance in their cauſe, declared themſelves ſecure of the iſſue, and treated Vitellius in the ſtile of enemies avowed. To the Tribunes and Centurions they gave room to hope, that whatever favours they had received from Vitellius, they ſhould ſtill retain; and, in terms ſufficiently plain, exhorted Cæcina to deſert. In a public aſſembly of the ſoldiers both letters were recited, and ſerved to heighten their confidence, ſince Cæcina had written in language ſo ſubmiſſive, like one under awe of Veſpaſian; and their own Generals in a ſtile of ſcorn, with bold and open inſults upon Vitellius.

Upon the arrival, thereafter, of two Legions, the third led by Dillius Aponianus, the eighth by Numiſius Lupis, it was judged proper to make a diſplay of their forces, and to draw an entrenchment round Verona. As it fell to the Legion named *Galbiana* to work upon the quarter fronting the oppoſite camp, the ſight of ſome horſe of their own, miſtaken at a diſtance for the enemy, filled them with pannic fear. In an inſtant they graſped their arms, and particularly againſt Titus Ampius Flavianus, whom they now charged as a traitor, the wrath of the ſoldiers raged, from no indication of guilt; but, as they had long ſince borne him mortal rancour, his bloody doom was demanded with an uproar, like that of a tempeſt. In vehement

and repeated clamours they accuſed him, 'as the 'kinſman of Vitellius, a traitor to Otho, and guilty 'of appropriating to himſelf the donative intended 'for them.' Liberty for defence there was none, though in the poſture of a ſupplicant he implored it, with his hands humbly extended, proſtrating himſelf again and again, his garments rent, his face convulſed, and his boſom heaving with the emotions of anguiſh. To men thus enraged, even this his woe proved a freſh incentive, as if by dread ſo exceſſive he bewrayed his guilt. Aponius, as he attempted to ſpeak, was ſilenced by the cries of the ſoldiers. In clamours too, and fierce noiſe they refuſed to hear the reſt. To Antonius only their ears were found open: For, beſides the talent of eloquence, and his arts in ſoothing a multitude, he was withal of great weight and eſtimation amongſt them. He, when the ſedition was growing extreme and tragical, and from bitter words and revilings they proceeded to deeds of violence and the ſword, ordered Flavianus to be caſt into irons. The ſoldiers perceived the evaſion, and forcing away ſuch as guarded the Tribunal, were about to perpetrate the murder. Antonius oppoſed them with his ſword drawn, with proteſtations that he himſelf would firſt periſh by their hands or his own; and where-ever he eſpied any particular men known to him, or diſtinguiſhed by the ornaments of their ſtation in the army, all ſuch he called by name to aſſiſt him. Then turning towards the Enſigns and military Deities, he beſought them, 'That upon the 'armies of their enemies they would rather pour 'that blind fury, and that ſpirit of diſſention.' By this means the ſedition came to ſubſide, and the day now cloſing, they all dropped off to their ſeveral tents. That very night Flavianus departed, and, on his way to Veſpaſian, met letters from him, ſuch as left him no longer any cauſe of fear.

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The Legions, as if they had run mad with ſome infectious frenzy, next aſſailed Aponius Saturninus, General of the forces from Mœſia, with outrage the more implacable, for that they began not as before, when fatigued with the toil and duty of the day, but burſt into this inſurrection at noon, provoked by certain letters diſperſed abroad, which Saturninus was believed to have writen to Vitellius. As amongſt the ſoldiers of old, to ſurpaſs each other in modeſty and feats of valour was their only contention, they at this time vied in impudence and mutinies: Hence they reſolved that they would demand the execution of Aponius with no leſs boldneſs and violence, than they had that of Flavianus. For, as the Mœſian Legions urged that in procuring vengeance to the Pannonian, they themſelves had aſſiſted; and, as the Pannonian Legions appeared to think that by the ſedition of others their own was obliterated; both rejoiced in repeating their guilt. To the gardens where Saturninus was retired, they ſtreight proceed: Nor to Antonius, nor to Aponianus nor to Meſſalla, though they uſed every effort, did he ſo much owe his deliverance as to a hiding place ſingularly obſcure, by having conveyed himſelf into the furnaces of ſome baths by chance not then uſed. Anon having diſmiſſed his Lictors, he retired to Padua. When the Leaders of Conſular name were withdrawn, to Antonius alone remained the power and ſway over both armies, by the conceſſion of his equals, the other Commanders of Legions, and by the bent and partiality of the ſoldiers. Neither were there wanting thoſe who believed both theſe ſeditions to have been moved by the intrigues of Antonius, that upon himſelf alone might devolve the glory and emoluments of the war.

Neither in the part of Vitellius were their ſpirits found more pacific, and compoſed; nay, amongſt

them prevailed convulsions more fatal, as their disorders arose not from suspicions harboured by the crowd, but from the infidelity of their Leaders. The Marines at Ravenna, already wavering in their inclinations, as the greater part were natives of Dalmatia and Pannonia, (provinces engaged to Vespasian) were gained over to his party by the influence of Lucilius Bassus, Commander of the Fleet at that City. For the execution of the treason the night was chosen, that the authors of the revolt only, might, unknown to the rest, assemble in the quarter of arms. Bassus, whether he were ashamed, or whether he feared what the issue might prove, awaited the success privately at home. The Captains of the Gallies fell upon the Images of Vitellius, demolishing them with terrible uproar, and after some few who resisted were slaughtered, the rest of the crowd, from fondness for public changes espoused the cause of Vespasian. Then went forth Lucilius, and publicly owned that from his counsels and orders the defection had sprung. The Fleet for their Commander chose Cornelius Fuscus, who made quick dispatch thither. Bassus, under custody, but honourably treated, was conveyed by some light vessels to Hadria, and by Mennius Rufinus, who commanded a Squadron in garrison there, thrown into bonds, but presently released upon the arrival of Hormus Freedman to Vespasian: For, he too was considered in the rank of General Officers.

Cæcina, when he found that the revolt of the Navy was divulged, assembled in the quarter of arms all the principal Centurions and a small number of common soldiers, whilst the rest were dispersed upon the several duties of the service; for, he warily chose the season of most solitude in the camp. He there extolled 'the magnanimity of 'Vespasian, and the power of his party. The Fleet, 'the

'the magazine of proviſions, was revolted; both 'Spains, and all the Gauls, were enemies declar-'ed; upon Rome, where nothing was found, there 'could be no reliance:' with the like repreſentations concerning Vitellius, all in the worſt colours. He then forthwith gave them the oath to Veſpaſian, and they who were his accomplices ſetting an example, the reſt, aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted by an event ſo ſudden and ſtrange, took it after them. At the ſame inſtant the Images of Vitellius were pulled down and defaced, and meſſengers diſpatched to acquaint Antonius with the whole. But as ſoon as through the whole camp news of the defeat were ſpread, the ſoldiers flocked to the quarter of arms; and, as they beheld the name of Veſpaſian ſet up, the effigies of Vitellius flung down, the firſt effect of their ſurprize was a ſilence altogether profound and univerſal; then, in a moment, there burſt out, as from one mouth, a torrent of reſentment and expoſtulations. 'Was the glory of the German 'Army fallen thus low, that without fighting a 'battle, without receiving a wound, they ſhould 'yield their hands to be bound, like men vanquiſh-'ed, or ſurrender their arms like captives? For in 'truth, what Legions had they to dread? were they 'not the Legions already routed? and even from 'theſe were wanting the firſt and the fourteenth, 'who conſtituted the only ſtrength of Otho's ar-'my, yet whom, in the ſame field, they had rout-'ed and overthrown: that thence they themſelves, 'yea, ſo many thouſand men ſo brave and armed, 'might now be preſented to Antonius a fugitive 'and exile, like a drove of ſlaves expoſed to ſale in 'a market: As if eight Legions were to accrue as 'ſuccours, to a ſingle Fleet. Such was the good 'pleaſure of Baſſus, ſuch that of Cæcina; that 'after they had diveſted the Emperor of his houſes, 'of his gardens, of his treaſures, they would alſo di-

'veſt him of his ſoldiers, though in their force not impaired, in their perſons no wiſe maimed, but in full vigour; thus to be rendered deſpicable even in the eyes of Veſpaſian's party. To ſuch as ſhould thereafter aſk them either concerning their exploits and ſucceſs, or their loſſes and diſaſters, what anſwers ſhould they be able to make?' Theſe were the cries of each, theſe the cries of the whole, all fiercely uttered, ſuitably to the indignation felt by each particular: And with the fifth Legion who began, the reſt readily concurred, in replacing the images of Vitellius, and putting Cæcina in irons. For their Leaders they choſe Fabius Fabullus, Commander of the fifth Legion, and Caſſius Longus, Camp Marſhal. Certain Marines belonging to the three light Gallies, they butchered; men unapprized of what had paſſed, free from guilt or deſign, and only through hazard falling in their way. They relinquiſhed their camp, and breaking the bridge, marched back again to Hoſtilia, from thence to Cremona, there to rejoin the firſt Legion named *Italica*, and the one and twentieth ſirnamed *Rapax*, which Cæcina had ſent forward with part of the cavalry to take poſſeſſion of Cremona.

When theſe tranſactions were known to Antonius, he reſolved forthwith to attack the enemy thus raging with animoſities, and divided in their forces, ere the Leaders had recovered authority, the ſoldiers their diſcipline and diſobedience, or the Legions ſpirit and boldneſs by uniting. For he imagined that Fabius Valens muſt ere now have left Rome, and would upon learning the deſertion of Cæcina, travel with great celerity. Moreover Fabius bore firm faith to Vitellius, and was no novice in war. Beſides, it was feared that a huge hoſt of Germans were advancing through Rhætia; and Vitellius had ordered ſuccours to repair out of Britain,

tain, and Gaul, and Spain; the whole a ſource of war terrible and conſuming, had not Antonius, in dread of this very thing, by haſtening to engage, anticipated the victory. With his whole army he marched from Verona, and the next evening encamped at Bedriacum. The day following, he ſent abroad his auxiliary Cohorts into the territories of Cremona, that under colour of ſupplying the army with proviſions, they might become hardened in the practice of civil plunder. The Legions were detained the while, to fortify the camp. He himſelf at the head of four thouſand horſe, travelled eight miles from Bedriacum, thence to afford the Cohorts greater ſecurity and latitude in their ravages. The ſcouts, according to cuſtom, were at a greater diſtance, intent upon diſcoveries.

It was now about the fifth hour of the day, when there arrived one upon a fleet horſe, with tidings, 'that the enemy approached; before the reſt a 'ſmall band advanced; and, on every ſide was 'heard the agitation and tumult of their march.' Whilſt Antonius was concerting what meaſures to take, Arrius Varus forward to acquit himſelf a notable champion, ruſhed out with a party of the reſolute horſe, and routed the front of the enemy, yet with ſmall ſlaughter; ſince, as there flew many to ſupport their fellows, the fortune of the encounter changed, and whoever had been keeneſt in purſuing, proved only the laſt in flying. Nor indeed was this haſty ſtep taken by the approbation of Antonius, who judged that the iſſue would be ſuch as it happened. He now exhorted thoſe about him, to prepare with undaunted ſpirit, for battle, and poſting his troops upon each hand, left a paſſage between for the reception of Varus and his horſemen. To the Legions orders were diſpatched to arm: Over the country notice to the Cohorts was every were given, to quit their pillage, and haſten

the ſeveral neareſt ways to the combat. Varus in the mean time, in terrible affright, had conveyed himſelf into the thickeſt of his band, and upon them brought general dread. Thus they who were routed, not the wounded only but ſuch as had received no hurt, were all miſerably ſtruggling under their own fears, and with ways ſtrait and obſtructed.

No part belonging to the duty of an undaunted commander or to that of a moſt courageous ſoldier, did Antonius omit during this conſternation. Such as were diſmayed he animated, ſuch as had recoiled he ſtayed. Where-ever the greateſt efforts were required, where-ever any hope was preſented, he readily aſſiſted, here with counſel and orders, there with his ſword; to the enemy remarkable by his voice, to his own ſoldiers manifeſt in perſon. At laſt to ſuch a degree of fervour he was tranſported, that with his javelin he transfixed a ſtandard-bearer who was flying, and ſeizing the ſtandard, with it inſtantly confronted the foe. An hundred, and no more, ſtruck with ſhame to deſert their General, returned to the fight. From the place where they fought they drew their advantage and relief; for the way was but narrow, and the river too running behind (now that the bridge was broken) by its high banks and uncertain depth, interrupted the flight. This neceſſity, or perhaps fortune, reſtored the forces of Veſpaſian juſt ſinking under a defeat. Firmly compacted together, they ſuſtained, with ranks cloſe and impenetrable, the aſſaults of Vitellius his men, who pouring in, like a raſh and diſorderly multitude, were inſtantly repulſed and diſmayed. Antonius urged their diſorder, purſued the diſcomfited, broke and overthrew ſuch as ſtood. The reſt, the while, betook themſelves to plunder, to make captives, or to ſeize horſes and arms, juſt as their ſeveral inclinations prompted them. Such too were the ſhouts of joy as to reach thoſe whom

whom fear and flight had juſt before ſcattered over the country; and they now returned to ſhare in the victory.

Four miles from Cremona were deſcried the refulgent Eagles of two Legions, *Rapax*, and *Italica*. Thus far they had come, encouraged by the ſucceſs of their cavalry, who, in the firſt encounter, had proved victorious. But when fortune changed, they would not open their ranks, would not afford reception to their unfortunate friends, beaten, and flying; would not advance towards the enemy, nor take the opportunity of falling upon forces ſpent with fighting and long purſuit; an opportunity which probably might have rendered them victorious. In truth, during proſperity they perceived not ſo ſenſibly the uſe of a General, as in adverſity that they wanted him. Upon this body already fluctuating and irreſolute, the conquering cavalry made an onſet, ſupported by Vipſtanus Meſſalla with the Auxiliaries from Mœſia, who, however ſuddenly they had been levied, were in feats of war deemed equal to the ſoldiers of the Legions. Moreover the neighbouring walls of Cremona, the ſurer hopes of refuge they yielded them, left them ſo much the leſs ſpirit to maintain the conflict.

Neither did Antonius further urge his victory: He was mindful of the condition of his men and horſes, waſted with heavy fatigue, and afflicted with many wounds, in a battle which, however ſucceſsful in the iſſue, had proved ſo doubtful and perilous. In the cloſe of the evening arrived the whole power of Veſpaſian's army. As they marched over hills of ſlain, and through the monuments and traces of a carnage ſo recent, they concluded the war to be completely finiſhed, and inſiſted to be led directly to Cremona, either to bring theſe vanquiſhed forces to ſurrender, or to force the place. This

was the plauſible language which they uſed openly: But privately every particular reaſoned with himſelf in the terms following; 'That the City, as 'it was ſituated in a plain, might be taken by 'ſtorm. In forcing an entrance in the dark, they 'ſhould be prompted with the ſame reſolution, and 'have greater latitude for ſpoiling. Now if they 'awaited the return of day, preſently ſupplications 'would be offered, preſently peace would be ac-'cepted; and for their toils and wounds they ſhould 'only reap renown and the praiſe of clemency, 'barren gratifications; but to the Commanders 'of Legions and principal Officers would accrue 'the wealth of Cremona: Since to the ſoldiers 'belonged the plunder of a town taken by the 'ſword, as to the Leaders, when gained by ſur-'render.' The authority of their Tribunes and Centurions they utterly ſlighted; and to drown the voice of any one who offered to reaſon with them, they thundered with their arms, ready to renounce all command unleſs they were forthwith led on.

Antonius having now conveyed himſelf into the crowd, after he had by his preſence and authority procured ſilence, declared, That of no part of their 'glory, of no part of their recompence ſought he 'to deprive men ſo well deſerving: but between 'an army and its Leaders the duties were ſhared 'and diſtinct. To the ſoldiers it appertained to 'dare danger, to long for the combat. The Ge-'nerals ſhewed their excellence in providing againſt 'exigencies, in concerting judicious meaſures; nay, 'oftener by patience and procraſtination, than by 'haſte and hazard, their ſucceſs was obtained. As 'he had, at the peril of his life, and by the dint of 'his ſword, promoted the late victory with all his 'might, he was ready to contribute the aſſiſtance 'of

'of his counsels end opinion; parts essential to a 'General. In truth, the difficulties to be en- 'countered, admitted no question or doubt; name- 'ly, the night, the unknown situation of the city, 'the enemy masters of it, on all hands opportuni- 'ties for circumvention and ambush. Enter, in 'truth, they ought not, even though the gates were 'thrown open, even though it were full day, till 'after sure search and intelligence. Would they 'indeed begin the assault, while yet bereft of light 'to discover where lay the most easy and accessi- 'ble places, or what was the height of the walls? 'Or before it was determined whether the city 'were to be attacked by missive engines and flights 'of darts, or by works and machines for battery?' Then turning round to particulars, he enquired of each, 'If with him he had brought a hatchet, 'a pick-ax, and other utensils for besieging towns?' As they owned that they had not; he cried, 'With swords and spears alone can any hands pos- 'sibly break through and overthrow City walls? 'Should we be constrained to throw up a rampart; 'should it prove necessary to shelter ourselves un- 'der pent-houses of boards, and sheds of hurdles: 'must we not, in such distress, remain like the 'vulgar herd, ever thoughtless and improvident, 'impotently staring at the lofty towers and strong 'bulwarks of our enemies? Better it is to delay 'for one night; and when our warlike engines and 'machines are brought, carry with us power and 'victory.'

At the same instant he dispatched to Bedriacum the atttendants and followers of the camp, accompanied by the freshest of the cavalry, to bring a supply of provisions, with whatever else the present exigency required. As the soldiers could not bear this but with impatience and regret, an insurrection was just beginning, when some horsemen, who had

had advanced close to the walls of Cremona, seized certain stragglers from thence. By them a discovery was made, 'That six Legions belonging to Vitellius, and the whole host which had quartered at 'Hostilia, having learnt the defeat of their fellows, 'had that same day marched thirty miles, and were 'just approaching arrayed for battle.' The minds of the men, otherwise stubborn and ungovernable, upon this terrible alarm, became pliant and open to the counsel of their Commander. The third Legion he ordered to post themselves upon the Posthumian highway. Adjoining to it, upon the left, stood the seventh, called *Galbiana*, in the plain; next to this the seventh, named *Claudiana*, to which a common ditch, such as the country presented, served for an entrenchment. Upon the right was placed the eighth, in fields open to the great road; then the thirteenth, interspersed in a close copse. Such was the disposition of the several Eagles and Ensigns of the Legions. The soldiers were intermixed in the dark, at the allotment of chance. Next to the third Legion stood the banner of the Prætorians; the auxiliary Cohorts upon the wings; and the Cavalry covered the flanks and the rear. Sido and Italicus from Suevia, at the head of a choice band of their nation, served in the foremost ranks.

Now the army of Vitellius, who in all discretion ought to have rested at Cremona, and, having by meat and sleep recovered their vigour, beset the enemy next day, and pushed them to an overthrow, while spent and disabled with cold and fasting; yet, wanting a ruler, and destitute of counsel, about the third hour of the night, rush precipitately upon the forces of Vespasian already prepared and even embattled. Under what form they came on to the assault, I dare not undertake to explain, disordered as it was by darkness and their own rage; though others

others have recounted, that the fourth Legion, named *Macedonica*, occupied the right wing; that the fifth and fifteenth, ſtrengthened with the Vexillaries of the ninth, the ſecond, and twentieth, (all three Britiſh Legions) conſtituted the main battle, and, that the ſixteenth, the two and twentieth, and the firſt, furniſhed the left wing. The ſoldiers of thoſe called *Rapax* and *Italica*, had mingled themſelves throughout all the companies. The cavalry and auxiliary bands choſe their own ſtation. During the whole night the combat held uncertain, ſhifting, and tragical; now deſtructive to theſe, anon to thoſe. Nothing availed bravery, nothing ſtrength, nor, in truth, the eyes, now deprived of diſcernment. In both hoſts the arms were alike, and the watch word of each, by being frequently aſked and repeated, became known to the other. Intermingled without diſtinction were the ſtandards, juſt as oppoſite parties could ſeize them from their enemies, and pull them hither and thither. Moſt ſorely beſet was the ſeventh Legion, one lately enrolled by Galba. Out of it ſix Centurions of principal rank were ſlain, and ſome of the enſigns were taken. The Eagle itſelf Atilius Verus had preſerved; he was chief Centurion, who in its defence ſlew heaps of the enemy, and at laſt periſhed himſelf.

To his ſinking battalions Antonius adminiſtred ſupport, by calling to their aſſiſtance the body of Prætorians. They at the firſt encounter repulſed the foe, and anon ſuffered a repulſe. For, the ſoldiers of Vitellius had now removed their miſſive engines, and planted them upon the ridge of the Poſthumian way, that thence with more room and over the clear fields they might diſcharge their deadly contents, which before flew at random, and, without annoying the foe, ſmote the buſhes. One of amazing bulk, of the ſort called *Baliſtæ*, belonging

longing to the fifteenth Legion, overthrew the enemy's ranks, by pouring upon them maſſy ſtones; and deſtruction more extenſive had followed, but for two common ſoldiers, who adventured upon an exploit of ſignal renown. From amongſt the ſlain they furniſhed themſelves with ſhields, and paſſing undiſcovered, cut the ligatures and ſprings of the engines. They were indeed preſently ſlaughtered, and thence their names have periſhed: Of the action itſelf, no doubt is made. To neither ſide was fortune yet leaning, when the night being well nigh ſpent, the moon riſing preſented the contending armies to fight, but deceived the eye. More favourable however ſhe proved to that of Veſpaſian, as ſhe ſhone upon their backs; for, againſt the ſhadows of the men and horſes, thus magnified, as againſt their real bodies, the darts and arrows of the enemy were deceitfully directed, and fell ere they reached their aim. The bands of Vitellius, who from the reflection in front ſtood clear in view, were expoſed, quite defenceleſs and ſurprized to be galled by men who thus annoyed them as it were from a hiding place.

Antonius, therefore, now that he could diſtinguiſh his own men, and be by them diſtinguiſhed, ſet himſelf to animate them ſeverally by different inſtigations, ſome by ſhame and reproof, many by applauſe and exhortation, all by hopes and promiſes. The Legions from Pannonia he aſked, 'From what 'motive they had again betaken themſelves to 'arms? This was the field in which they might 'obliterate the ſtain of their former diſgrace; here 'they might recover their glory.' Then turning to thoſe from Mœſia, he rouſed them, 'As the men 'who began the revolt, and were the firſt movers 'of the war. In vain they had defied the powers 'of Vitellius with big words and menaces, if they 'could not bear their looks and blows.' In this manner

manner he reaſoned with ſuch as he happened to accoſt. To the third Legion he diſcourſed more copiouſly, and to their memory recalled their feats of renown ancient and late; 'How under Anthony 'they had overthrown the Parthians, under Cor- 'bulo the Armenians; and not long ſince diſcom- 'fited the Sarmatians.' He next applied, with great wrath, to the Prætorians. 'For you; ſaid 'he, if you conquer not now, what other Gene- 'ral will ever receive you, what other camp will 'admit you, who are no longer ſoldiers, but de- 'graded? Yonder amongſt the foes are your ban- 'ners and your arms, and yonder, if you are van- 'quiſhed, death abides you; for, of your ſhame 'you have already ſeen the end.' There enſued from every quarter cries and ſhoutings; and juſt then the third Legion, according to the Cuſtom in Syria, paid their adoration to the riſing ſun.

From this incident a rumour flew, whether fortuitous or contrived by the General, 'That Muci- 'anus was arrived, and between the armies mutual 'ſalutations had paſſed.' Inſtantly they preſſed to a cloſer charge, as if really reinforced by freſh ſuccours. In truth, Vitellius his hoſt were already become looſer and disjoined; as men who without a Leader to controul them, cloſed or opened juſt as particulars were moved by the impulſe of their own fury or fear. When Antonius perceived them diſordered and plying, he puſhed them vehemently with a ſtrong and condenſed band; and their ranks yielding, were utterly broken: nor was it poſſible to reſtore them, as they were embarraſſed and obſtructed by their own carriages and engines. The conquerors too, eager to purſue, covered in parties the whole way. The more ſignal was this ſlaughter, for that in it a ſon ſlew his father. I ſhall here recount the fact and the names of the men, as the ſame are recorded by Vipſtanus Meſſalla. Julius Man-

Manſuetus, a native of Spain, liſting in the Legion called *Rapax*, left behind him at home a ſon, then a boy, who afterwards growing up, and having been under Galba enrolled in the ſeventh Legion, happened here to confront his father, and wounded him ſo that he fell. Whilſt he rifled this his parent juſt expiring, he was by him known, and knew him again. He then embraced his pale coarſe, and with a voice doleful and ſad, ſupplicated the manes of his father 'to be atoned, nor to hold him in 'horrour as a paricide; upon the public only 'the crime was to be charged; and in a general 'tumult of civil arms poor and ſmall was the part 'of a ſingle ſoldier.' He at the ſame time lifted up the body, digged a grave, and towards his parent diſcharged the laſt duty. Such who were neareſt obſerved what paſſed, as did then many more. Hence through the whole hoſt the wonderful accident flew, with many wailings, and with bitter execration upon a war thus unnatural and barbarous. Yet with never the more reluctance they proceeded firſt to butcher, then to ſpoil their kinſmen, their relations, nay, their brethren. They tell what a crying iniquity has been done, and do it.

Upon their approach to Cremona, there preſented itſelf a taſk altogether new and immenſe. In the war againſt Otho, the ſoldiers from Germany had pitched their camp quite round the walls, and quite round their camp had drawn a great trench; and to this too had ſince added freſh bulwarks. At ſight of all theſe the conquerors were checked, and heſitated, as in truth their Leaders were unreſolved what directions to give. To proceed to the aſſault with an army already waſted and weary with the continued toils of a day and a night, were an enterprize full of difficulty; and, as no ſuccour or refuge was nigh, it were full of danger. If they

ſhould

ſhould return to Bedriacum, intolerable were the fatigue from a journey ſo long, and vain and abortive would then prove their victory gained. Should they here ſtay and encamp, this too was a courſe to be dreaded ſo near the enemy; for that by a ſudden ſally he might attack and diſtreſs the men when diſperſed and employed in their works. Above all their apprehenſions was that adminiſtred by their own ſoldiers, men apter to tempt perils than to bear delays. To them all meaſures that were ſafe were diſtaſteful, and in feats of temerity they placed their hopes; ſo that for all the ſlaughter which they ſuffered, for all their gorings, and their blood ſpilt, they found full compenſation in the luſt and fruition of ſpoil.

To this humour Antonius yielded, and ordered the ſoldiers, in the form of a ring, to inveſt the entrenchment for an equal aſſault. At firſt the conflict was maintained by diſtant vollies of ſtones and arrows; whence the foreſt havock fell upon the forces of Veſpaſian, as againſt them blows were dealt with force ſuperior from above. Anon he aſſigned different ſtations to the ſeveral Legions, round the ramparts and againſt the ſeveral gates; that by thus dividing the taſk into lots the coward might be diſtinguiſhed from the brave, and a competition for glory animate all. To the third Legion and the ſeventh belonged the quarter facing the road to Bedriacum; as did that upon the right hand to the eighth and the ſeventh, named *Claudiana*. The ardour of the thirteenth Legion carried them directly to the Port towards Brixia. There enſued a ſhort reſpite, till from the neighbouring fields were brought ſpades add pickaxes by ſome, by others hooks and ladders. Then raiſing their ſhields over their heads, and thence forming a continued ſhell, under its ſhelter they advanced to the foot of the bulwarks. On both ſides was

poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed the military proweſs of Romans: The bands of Vitellius hurled down quantities of mighty ſtones; and as the ſhell, thus battered, became looſe and tottering, with ſpears and long poles they pierced and rent it, till they had thus quite diſſolved the contexture of the ſhields; then beat to the ground the men beneath, and ſlaughtered or maimed them with huge havock.

The onſet began to ſlacken and diſcontinue, till the Leaders who found the ſoldiers exhauſted, and unmoved by exhortations barren of profit, pointed to Cremona, and offered it as their ſpoil. Whether by Hormus this device was ſtarted, as Meſſalla recounts, or whether more credit be due to the authority of Caius Plinius, who charges it upon Antonius; is a doubt which I cannot eaſily clear. I ſhall only ſay that, even in this proceeding, horrible as it was, neither did Antonius, nor did Hormus, in the leaſt vary from the courſe of their paſt lives and infamy. Thus encouraged, nothing could ſcare or retard the men; regardleſs of wounds and blood, they laboured to demoliſh the rampart, preſſed and battered the gates, ſtood upon the ſhoulders of one another, climbed upon the ſhell of ſhields now reſtored, and ſeized the weapons in the hands of the enemy, nay, the hands too which held them. Together headlong tumbled the hale and the maimed, ſuch as were half dead with ſuch as were juſt dying, and together periſhed under various forms: So that here in all its ghaſtly views, the horrors of death were diſplayed.

By the ſeventh Legion and the third, the fierceſt conflict was maintained. The General too, Antonius, with a ſelect detachment of Auxiliaries, exerted himſelf in the ſame quarter. When the party of Vitellius were no longer able to ſuſtain the ſhock of men all obſtinately combined to ſucceed or die, and as their diſcharges from above were all diſſipated by

by the ſhell of ſhields below; they at laſt hurled down upon the aſſailants the miſſive engine itſelf, huge and ponderous as it was. As this failed not to cruſh and overwhelm thoſe upon whom it fell, ſo in its own overthrow it involved that of the pinnacles and ridge of the ramparts. At the ſame inſtant the tower adjoining yielded to the continual vollies of ſtones, and fell. Whilſt here the ſeventh Legion, formed into a band ſharp in front, ſtrove to enter, the third with their ſwords and axes broke the gate. That Caius Voluſius, a ſoldier of the third Legion, was the firſt who forced an entrance, is apparent from the concurrence of all hiſtorians. He having mounted the rampart, puſhed down all who reſiſted, and by his hand and his voice manifeſting himſelf to his fellows, cried aloud that the camp was taken. The reſt then burſt in: for Vitellius his men, now reduced to utter diſmay, were already leaping with great hurry from the battlements. With the bodies of the ſlain was filled the whole ſpace between the camp and Cremona.

Here again was preſented a new ſcene of difficulties and fatigues, the walls of the City mighty and high, ſtrong towers of ſtone, the gate ſecured with vaſt bars of iron, the ſoldiers already brandiſhing their inſtruments of deſtruction, the inhabitants numerous and devoted to the party of Vitellius, in the town a great part of Italy aſſembled at the Fair now holden there upon ſtated days: An incident which to thoſe who defended it yielded matter of ſuccour, becauſe of the multitude; and, to thoſe who attacked it, matter of ſtimulation, becauſe of the prey. Antonius ordered fire to be immediately ſet to all the moſt ſumptuous and beautiful buildings in the neighbourhood of the City; if peradventure the people of Cremona might, by ſeeing their poſſeſſions deſtroyed be induced to change their allegiance. Into ſuch houſes as ſtood near the

walls

walls and in height exceeded the battlements, he conveyed all his braveſt men, enow to fill the upper ſtories; from whence with rafters, tiles and flaming torches, they drove away all who made oppoſition.

Already the Legions had compacted and formed themſelves into a ſhell, whilſt others were now pouring volleys of ſtones and darts, when the bravery of the Vitellian bands began by little and little to droop. Each, in proportion as he excelled in rank, was forward to yield to fortune: They feared that, were Cremona too once ſtormed, there would be no longer room for pardon left, and all the fury of the conquerors would recoil, not upon the rabble of ſoldiers, bare and indigent, but upon the Tribunes and Centurions, men whoſe blood promiſed booty. The common men, who beyond the preſent think not, and from the lowneſs of their lot derive the greater ſafety, perſiſted in their oppoſition. They roved through the ſtreets, or lay retired in the houſes, and ſought not peace even at a time when they had dropped all efforts of war. The chief officers aboliſhed the name and images of Vitellius: From Cæcina too they removed his bonds (for even then he was under them) and beſought him to plead in their behalf for mercy. As he denied their ſuit and ſwelled with haughtineſs and ſcorn, they perſevered to importune him with many tears: The laſt inſtance ſurely, and the higheſt of affliction and abaſement, when ſo many brave men were reduced to ſupplicate the ſuccour of a traitor. Next they hung from the walls the ſacred hoods and veils from the temples; and, when Antonius had ordered all violence to be ſtayed, they bore forth their Eagles and Banners. After followed the ſorrowful hoſt without their arms, and with their eyes faſtened to the ground. Around them gathered the conquerors, and at firſt inſulted them with revilings, nay, were near chaſtiſing

them

them with blows: Yet, as it was perceived how tamely the vanquiſhed preſented their perſons and faces to all indignities, how they had relinquiſhed all pride and fierceneſs, and bore with ſignal patience all their calamities, it began to be remembred, that theſe were the ſame men, who having gained the late victory at Bedriacum, had tempered their ſucceſs with lenity. But as ſoon as Cæcina approached, arrayed and attended with Lictors and the Robe of State, and paſſed in the pomp of Conſul through a lane purpoſely made in the throng, rage ſeized the conquering hoſt. They bitterly upbraided him for his pride, and for his cruelty; nay, ſuch is the abhorrence naturally annexed to deeds of villainy, that they even upbraided him for his revolt. Antonius checked their violence, and furniſhing him with a guard, ſent him away towards Veſpaſian.

The populace of Cremona, the while, were ſorely oppreſſed among ſuch a multitude of armed men. They were in truth threatened with a preſent maſſacre, till, by the intreaties of the Leaders, the raging ſoldiers became aſſwaged. Antonius moreover calling an aſſembly, made a ſpeech, full of high applauſes upon the conquerors, full of gentleneſs towards the vanquiſhed. To Cremona his expreſſions boded neither mercy nor wrath. The army, beſides their inherent luſt of plunder, were ſtimulated by an old rancour to ſeek the overthrow of that Colony. The inhabitants were believed, even in the war againſt Otho, to have ſupported the cauſe of Vitellius: Soon after too, when the thirteenth Legion had been left to rear an Amphitheatre there, as the lower Citizens every where have ſpirits pert and ſcornful, they of Cremona had with biting and petulant jeſts conſtantly provoked and derided the men. To heighten this ill humour and deſpight there concurred the late combat of

Gladiators

Gladiators presented there by Cæcina, and that the same place had been now twice the seat of the war, that it had furnished the army of Vitellius with provisions, that even some of the women were slain in the fight, carried thither by their passionate zeal for the cause. Moreover by means of the Fair, the City, though in itself very rich, was filled with a display of wealth still more abundant. The other Leaders were all eclipsed by Antonius. Upon him his signal fortune and fame drew all eyes. He, to wash himself from the stains of blood, had present recourse to a bath, where a word which he happened to drop, was quickly remarked and divulged. As he complained of the imperfect warmth, he added, that 'it would suddenly prove abundantly hot:' A saying which, though pleasantly uttered to his slaves, turned upon him the whole odium and indignation of the Public, as if by this he had given the watch-word for setting fire to Cremona, which was already in a blaze.

Into it there had rushed forty thousand men, all in their arms; of the base retainers to the camp, still a greater number, and more abandoned to feats of licentiousness and barbarity. No security accrued from the age of persons, none from dignity of place, and neither proved a restraint from joining acts of constupration to those of murder, and acts of murder to those of constupration. Men stooping under a load of years, and matrons past their age, as they would yield no price, were dragged along in mockery and mirth. When in their way there fell any virgin grown, or lovely boy; after all the limbs of the tender prey were rent asunder by the struggles and competition of these sons of cruelty; then, in the rage of disappointment, with their bloody hands they butchered each other. Whilst from the several Temples they were carrying loads of treasure, or the sacred gifts and ornaments

ments of maſſy gold, every one under a burden of his own, they were themſelves ſpoiled and ſlaughtered by others who were ſtronger. Some deſpiſing the booty which was preſent and obvious, by mercileſs tortures and ſtripes forced the proprietors to ſearch out whatever they had concealed, to dig up whatever they had buried. In their hands they bore flaming torches: Theſe they threw, as notable ſport, into empty houſes, ſuch as they had juſt ſtripped, and into Temples which they had firſt made deſolate. And, as in an army different in language and cuſtoms, an army variouſly compoſed, of Roman Citizens, of confederates, and of ſtrangers; various too and different were their paſſions and purſuits; and to every one ſome or other act of violence ſeemed right; nor was any act whatſoever forborn as unjuſt. During four whole days did Cremona bear depredations and the flames. When under the fury of the fire all things, whether ſacred or profane, had ſubſided, the Temple of Mephitis, ſtanding without the walls, remained intire, whether, by its ſituation, not expoſed, or preſerved by the interpoſition of the Goddeſs.

Such was the end of Cremona, two hundred and eighty-ſix years after its riſe. It was founded under the Conſulſhip of Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius, when Hannibal was ready to fall into Italy, as a barrier againſt the Gauls on the other ſide the Po, or any other power meditating an irruption from beyond the Alps. Thus it grew and flouriſhed in number of people, convenience of rivers, richneſs of territory, and affinities with other nations of Italy; a Colony in all our foreign wars never hurt, but in our civil diſſentions ſignally unhappy. Antonius, ſtruck with ſhame for the barbarity committed, which upon him was continually drawing freſh abhorrence, iſſued a public order, 'That no one ſhould preſume to hold captive any

'citizen of Cremona.' Vain too and unprofitable to the soldiers had such prey been rendered by the unanimous combination of Italy, to refuse the purchase of such for their slaves. Thus they who had them began to murder them. When this inhumanity became known, their kindred and relations made haste to redeem them. Shortly after the remainder of the people returned to Cremona. The places of public resort, and the Temples were restored by the liberality and contribution of the Colony. They had moreover, to encourage them, special countenance and exhortation from Vespasian.

Now as through putrefaction and carcasses the ground was polluted and noisome, the vanquishers could not long lodge upon the ruins in which the city was buried. They therefore retired three miles from thence, and finding the soldiers of Vitellius scattered and dismayed, replaced them again, each under his former banner. Over Illyricum too they dispersed the conquered Legions; lest, as the civil war still subsisted, they might form dangerous designs. They thereafter sent messengers into Britain and into both Spains, there to blazon their victory; as into Gaul they also dispatched Julius Calenus a Tribune, and into Germany Alpinus Montanus Commander of a Cohort, two officers chosen for ostentation and parade, as the latter was of Treves, the former an Eduan, both partizans of Vitellius. At the same times, guards were posted upon the passes of the Alps from a jealousy entertained of Germany, as if for the succour of Vitellius that country were arming.

Now Vitellius, when Cæcina was departed, having in a few days after caused Fabius Valens to take the field, abandoning the functions of an Emperor, smothered all his cares in voluptuousness and excess, made no warlike preparations, by no military exercises

erciſes preſerved the vigour of the ſoldiers, by no pathetic harangues inſpired them with confidence and zeal, ſhewed himſelf not in public, nor courted the affection of the people, but buried in the bowers and alleys of his gardens, had in oblivion equally drowned all thoughts of things paſt, preſent, and future; like certain beaſts ſo liſtleſs and heavy, that if you throw them but provender, lie ſtill for ever, reſigned to ſtupidity and ſlumbering. Under this courſe of ſloth and gluttony, in the grove at Aricinum, he was alarmed with tidings of the deſertion of Lucilius Baſſus, and the defection of the Fleet at Ravenna. Soon after came another melancholy account, yet blended with joy, that Cæcina had revolted, but by the army was caſt into bonds. In his ſpirit undiſcerning and ſtupid, joy overcame anxiety. Back he returned to Rome with mighty alacrity and exultation, and in a full aſſembly accumulated many praiſes upon the duty and devotion of the ſoldiers. Upon Publius Sabinus, Captain of the Prætorian Guards, becauſe of his intimacy with Cæcina, he ordered chains to be put, and in his place ſubſtituted Alphenus Varus.

He preſently after met the Senate and to them addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech purpoſely framed, with ſtrains very high and boaſting. To theſe the Senators replied in many flights of elaborate flattery. The firſt who propoſed judgment to paſs againſt Cæcina, a judgment deadly and terrible, was Lucius Vitellius. Immediately all the reſt, in a ſtile of indignation well ſtudied, declared their abhorrence, 'That he who was Conſul ſhould thus betray the 'Commonweal, he who was General, his Emperor; 'he, upon whom had been poured riches ſo vaſt, pub'lic honours ſo many, betray his friend and benefac'tor.' Thus they appeared to complain in behalf of Vitellius, but in reality uttered their own juſt grief and reſentment. In all their ſpeeches not a man dropped

the leaſt invective againſt the oppoſite Leaders. They only blamed 'the miſtake and indiſcretion of the armies,' and with great circumſpection avoided all mention of Veſpaſian. One too was found who by ſervile court obtained the Conſulſhip for one day, (as ſo much remained of Cæcina's term) with infinite deriſion upon him who beſtowed as well as upon him who accepted. Upon the laſt day of October, Roſcius Regulus began this his Magiſtracy, and with the day his Magiſtracy ended. It was by wiſe men obſerved, that never till then had one Conſul been ſubſtituted to another, till the office were firſt abrogated, or a law ſolemnly publiſhed. For there had been before a Conſul for one day, Caninius Rebilus, during the Dictatorſhip of Julius Cæſar, at a juncture when offices were ſhortened to gratify ſuch as had merited in the civil War.

During theſe days was publicly known the death of Junius Blæſus, and employed the tongues of all men. Concerning it I have learnt the following account. Vitellius, whilſt he laboured under a grievous malady in the gardens of Servilius, perceived, during the night, a tower in the neighbourhood illuminated with a multitude of lights. As he expreſſed curioſity to know the occaſion, he was informed, 'That Cæcina Tuſcus celebrated at his 'houſe a great banquet for many gueſts, but the 'foremoſt in dignity was Junius Blæſus.' In recounting particulars, terrible aggravations were made and every thing miſrepreſented, 'What pompous 'preparations and parade, to what flights of gayity 'and mad revellings they had let looſe their minds.' Nor were there wanting ſome to arraign Tuſcus himſelf and others: But they charged Blæſus as more criminal than all, 'That whilſt the Emperor 'languiſhed under ſickneſs, he thus kept days of 'feſtivity and rejoicing.' When to ſuch as eagerly watch the paſſions and diſguſts of Princes, it appeared

peared manifeſt that the Emperor was exaſperated, and that the doom of Blæſus might be accompliſhed, upon Lucius Vitellius was preſently devolved the taſk of maintaining the accuſation. He, from a ſpirit of malignity and envy, bearing ſpecial enmity to Blæſus, for that in a reputation glorious and popular, he ſo far ſurpaſſed himſelf, contaminated with every ſort of infamy, went directly, and opening the Emperor's chamber, catched in his arms the Emperor's ſon, and before him fell upon his knees. To the other, who inquired into the cauſe of ſuch his confuſion, he anſwered, 'That from no dread 'of his own, from no anxiety for himſelf, he came 'thus to pour out his prayers and tears: No; it 'was for his brother, it was for the children of his 'brother, that theſe prayers were uttered and theſe 'tears flowed In vain was Veſpaſian feared, he 'whom ſo many German Legions, whom ſo many 'Provinces all faithful and brave, whom finally 'tracks ſo immenſe of land and ſea, concurred to 'repel and confine to regions far remote. It be-'hoved him rather to guard againſt an enemy with-'in the walls of Rome, nay, an enemy in his own 'boſom; one who for his anceſtors boaſted the Ju-'nian Houſe, and that of Mark Anthony; one 'ſprung from the race of the Cæſars, and offici-'ouſly preſenting himſelf to the ſoldiers, to win 'their affections by his complaiſance, to raiſe their 'admiration of his magnificence. Upon this ob-'ject centered the minds of all men, whilſt Vitel-'lius, regardleſs of friends and enemies, cheriſhed 'his ſupplanter, who from amidſt the frolics and 'wantonneſs of banqueting, beheld the pains and 'agonies of the Prince. Upon the Emperor it was 'incumbent for this night's inſolent and ill-timed 'mirth, to repay him with a night doleful and dead-'ly; whence he might be convinced that Vitellius 'ſtill lived, that he ſtill reigned, and, ſhould fate

'happen to remove him, had a ſon to ſucceed 'him.'

Whilſt between the iniquity propoſed and fear for himſelf, Vitellius wavered under perplexity and diſmay, leſt by deferring the doom of Blæſus he ſhould haſten his own, and from openly ordering the execution much public hate and horror might enſue, he found it the beſt expedient to diſpatch him by poiſon. To the guilt of this black exploit he added credit and proof, by viſiting Blæſus in his laſt moments, with glaring marks of joy. He was alſo heard to drop an expreſſion full of barbarity, by declaring (for I ſhall repeat the very words) 'That 'he had glutted his eyes by beholding the death of 'his enemy.' In Blæſus, beſides the ſignal ſplendor of his race, and the elegance of his life and accompliſhments, there had been found faith and allegiance not to be changed. He had been before courted by Cæcina and other Grandees of the party, to join with them againſt Vitellius, whom even then they were caſting off whilſt his cauſe yet proſpered without check; but, with conſtancy unſhaken, he rejected their ſuit, and ever ſhewed himſelf a man void of all ſtain, free from all faction, fond of no ſudden elevation whatſoever, and ſo much leſs fond of ſovereignty, that he narrowly miſſed being deemed worthy of it.

Fabius Valens, in the mean time, at the head of a huge and effeminate hoſt of eunuchs and harlots, advancing with a pace too ſlack and indolent for one who proceeded to war, received tidings ſent expreſs, that Lucilius Baſſus had betrayed to the enemy the Fleet at Ravenna: and, had he quickened his march, he might have prevented the defection of Cæcina, then halting, or at leaſt have overtaken the Legions ere the battle had been riſqued. Nor were there wanting ſome to adviſe him, 'That 'with a few faithful attendants, chuſing private 'ways,

'ways, and avoiding Ravenna, he ſhould travel di-
'rectly to Hoſtilia or Cremona.' To others it ſeemed more eligible, 'to ſend to Rome for the 'Prætorian Guards, and then with a powerful band 'force their way.' He himſelf, yielding to fruitleſs procraſtinations, waſted, in conſulting, the opportunities for acting. Anon, ſlighting both theſe counſels, and ſhewing neither ſufficient reſolution nor ſufficient foreſight, he choſe a part which in deſperate exigencies is ever the worſt, by following a middle courſe: He wrote to Vitellius, and deſired ſuccours.

From Vitellius came three Cohorts with the Squadron of horſe from Britain; a number ill concerted, too great to be led by ſtealth, not great enough to break through the enemy. Valens, even under all the diſtreſs and pe il that encompaſſed him, forbore not to earn freſh infamy, but was branded for rioting in wicked and impure pleaſures, and for defiling the houſes of his ſeveral hoſts with feats of adultery and conſtupration. He was inveſted with power, furniſhed with treaſure, and now exerting the laſt efforts of debauchery during the overthrow of his fortune. At laſt, upon the coming of the foot and horſe, appeared the unhappy abſurdity of the meaſures taken; ſince a band ſo ſmall, however faithful in their adherence they had been, were neither able to march through an enemy's country, nor had brought with them perfect ſteadineſs and fidelity. They were, however, checked by ſhame, and by reverence for the preſence of their General; reſtraints which were not likely to laſt amongſt men thirſting after dangers, hardened againſt all ſenſe of reproach and diſhonour. Moved with this apprehenſion, and retaining with himſelf a few, ſuch as had not changed their affections upon the change of fortune, he ſent forward the Cohorts to Ariminum: The Cavalry he ordered to guard their rear. He

himself turning aside, bent his course to Umbria, and from thence to Etruria. Having here learnt the issue of the battle at Cremona, he conceived a design no wise dastardly, which, had it been accomplished, would have produced very terrible events: He proposed to embark for Narbon Gaul, and landing upon any part of that coast, to rouse all the Provinces of Gaul, and all the Roman forces there, as also the several nations of Germany, and thence a new war.

Against the garrison of Ariminum, dismayed upon the departure of Valens, Cornelius Fuscus advanced with an army, and sending small gallies round the neighbouring shore, beset them by land and sea. He also possessed himself of the plains of Umbria, and of the territories of Picenum all along the Adriatic Gulph. Thus between Vespasian and Vitellius all Italy was shared, and the ridges of the Apennine were the common boundary. Fabius Valens having embarked in the Port of Pisa, was by a contrary wind, or a calm, forced to land at Monaco. Not far from thence abode Marius Maturus, Procurator of the Maritime Alps, a faithful adherent to Vitellius, one who, though all the country round espoused the opposite party, had never swerved from his allegiance. From him Valens found a kind reception, but was deterred by him from venturing rashly into Narbon Gaul. His followers at the same time began to warp, their faith yielding to the force of fear. For into the oath to Vespasian, Valerius Paulinus the Procurator had drawn all the States round about; an Officer of known bravery, and Vespasian's friend before his elevation. In the Colony of Forojulium too, as a city which commanded all access from the sea, he held a garrison, consisting of men discharged by Vitellius, now again all invited to take arms, and all frankly resuming them. So much the greater

also

alſo was his ſway, for that Forojulium was his native city; and amongſt the Prætorians he poſſeſſed much perſonal reverence, as having been once their Tribune. Moreover the inhabitants, through partiality to their fellow-citizen, and in proſpect of aggrandizing themſelves, exerted all their might to ſupport the party. When all theſe terrible diſpoſitions with ſuch care ſettled, and by the voice of rumour amply heightened, were currently related amongſt the adherents of Vitellius, already anxious and perplexed, Fabius Valens returned directly to his veſſels with four of the Emperor's body-guard, three friends, and as many Centurions. To Maturus and the reſt, if they liſted to ſtay, and ſwear to Veſpaſian, full liberty was left. For what remains; to Valens the ſea doubtleſs yielded greater ſecurity than any abode in cities or upon the ſhore; but, whilſt he remained under painful doubt about his future fortune, and rather certain what to avoid than upon what to rely, he was by the violence of contrary winds driven upon the Stechades, Iſlands near Marſeilles. There ſome gallies, purpoſely ſent by Paulinus, took him priſoner.

When Valens was taken, all places followed the fortune of the conqueror; as in Spain the example began from the firſt Legion named *Adjutrix*, which, in tenderneſs to the memory of Otho, bearing deſpight to Vitellius, drew at this time along with it the tenth alſo and the ſixth. Nor, in the Provinces of Gaul, was there any heſitation. And, as in Britain ſignal was the affection found for Veſpaſian, who had, in the reign of Claudius, commanded the ſecond Legion there, and acquitted himſelf with great glory, and martial proweſs; that country too acceded to his party; yet not without ſtruggle and oppoſition from the other Legions, in which many Centurions and many ſoldiers had been promoted by

Vitellius, and were brought with regret to change a prince whom they had already experienced.

From this animosity and contest in the army, and from the rumours of our intestine war, continually flying, the Britons resumed their ancient defiance and hostilities, led by the sway of Venusius, who, besides his inherent ferocity, and settled hate to the Roman name, was inflamed by personal enmity and rage towards Queen Cartismandua. This Lady ruled over the Brigantes, mighty in the lustre of her race. Her puissance too had been largely augmented, since her taking of King Caractacus, whom by guile she had seized, and delivering him to the Romans had thence the merit of having embellished the triumph of the Emperor Claudius. Hence her great opulence, and hence the wild riot following prosperity. Rejecting Venusius, who was her husband, she espoused Vellocatus his armour-bearer, and upon him with her person conferred her crown. By this act of reproach she wrought the present dissolution of her house With her husband remained the zeal and inclinations of the State; for the adulterer was engaged the lewdness of the Queen, and all her cruelty exerted. Venusius having called in succours, and gained the Brigantes themselves to revolt, reduced Cartismandua to extreme peril and distress. From the Romans she then implored a reinforcement; and indeed our Cohorts and Squadrons of horse, after several encounters with variable success, rescued the Queen herself from impending peril. The Kingdom continued to Venusius, and upon us the war.

During the same conjuncture, commotions prevailed in Germany, as well through the spiritless conduct of our Generals, as through the turbulent behaviour of the Legions. Insomuch that by assaults from foreign nations, and by the perfidiousness

neſs and defection of nations allied, the Roman intereſt there had well nigh been aboliſhed. I ſhall hereafter recount the ſtory of this war, with its cauſes and events; for it continued long. The people of Dacia too were up in arms, a nation never well affected, and then by no awe reſtrained, ſince the army was withdrawn out of Mœſia. The firſt movements of affairs they had watched with attention, but in quiet: Anon, when they had learnt that all Italy was in a blaze of war, and on both ſides hoſtile minds and hoſtile doings, they ſtormed the winter lodgments of the auxiliary Cohorts and Cavalry, and became maſters of both banks of the Danube. They were already proceeding to demoliſh the entrenchments of the Legions, had not Mucianus ſent the ſixth Legion to oppoſe them: For he was apprized of the victory at Cremona, and apprehended what a terrible ſtorm of foreign violence muſt from each quarter enſue, ſhould the Dacians and Germans once break in through different limits. Preſent and aſſiſting, as often elſe, ſo then ſurely was the good fortune of the Roman People, which thither juſt at that inſtant drew Mucianus, and the forces of the Eaſt; beſides that, ere he came, we had finiſhed the conteſt at Cremona. Fonteius Agrippa, juſt arrived from Aſia, where he had governed for a year with Proconſular authority, was appointed Governor of Mœſia, with a ſupply of forces taken out of the late army of Vitellius; ſince, to diſperſe them through the Provinces, and hold them entangled in a war againſt foreigners, was a meaſure concerted to preſerve domeſtic peace.

Nor in other nations was there compoſure found. Throughout Pontus, one who was a barbarian and a ſlave, and once Commander of the navy royal there, had with notable ſuddenneſs excited an uproar of arms. It was Anicetus, Freedman to King Polemon, and under him in times paſt mighty in

power, now full of bitterneſs and regret, ever ſince the Kingdom had been changed into a Roman Province. Arraying therefore, in the name of Vitellius, the ſeveral nations that dwell in Pontus, and, with the proſpect of ſpoil, ſeducing all ſuch as were extremely indigent, he ſaw himſelf Leader of no inconſiderable band, and with great rapidity aſſailed and entered Trapeſund, a City of Aſia exceeding ancient, founded by the Grecians upon the utmoſt confines of Pontus. There a Cohort was ſlaughtered, the ſame formerly retained in the ſervice of the King: They had thereafter been preſented with the privilege of Roman Citizens, and thence in their arms and banners adhered to the uſage of the Romans, yet ſtill followed the idle life and licentious ſpirit of Greeks. He likewiſe burned the Fleet, and with ſcorn and inſults ſcoured the ſea then unguarded, as from thence Mucianus had called the choice Gallies and all the Marines to Byzantium. Nay, the neighbouring Barbarians, caſting off all reverence and fear, roved about for ſpoil in veſſels haſtily built, ſuch as they call ſheds, ſhallow in the ſides, wide at bottom, and framed without bandage of iron or braſs. When the ſea rages, in proportion to the ſwelling of the waves they heighten the ſhell of their boats with additional planks, till by degrees they cloſe above like a roof. Thus they roll amongſt the ſurges, with both ends ſharp, and formed to row indifferently hither or thither, with eaſe and ſafety.

This affair merited the attention of Veſpaſian, who, to end it, choſe out a body of Vexillaries from the Legions, and for their Leader, Verdius Geminus, an Officer diſtinguiſhed in war. He, aſſailing the enemy whilſt they were diſconcerted, and roaming aſunder in purſuit of prey, drove them into their veſſels; then in ſome gallies made with diſpatch, chaſed Anicetus into the mouth of the river Chobus; where he relied for ſafety upon

the protection of Sedochus King of the Lazians, an ally whom he had purchased by money and presents. And at first the King, in defence of his supplicant, betook himself to menaces and arms; but, as soon as a recompence for his treachery was proposed, and a war threatened, if he refused, his fidelity vanished like that of other Barbarians: He struck a bargain for the life of Anicetus, and surrendered all the fugitives. Thus ended that servile war. Whilst Vespasian was yet rejoicing over this victory, to see that upon all his measures there attended a torrent of success surpassing his own wishes, tidings of the battle at Cremona overtook him in Egypt. Hence he speeded the faster to Alexandria, that, since the army of Vitellius was utterly broken, he might now also distress Rome itself by famine, a City ever needing supplies from abroad. For he was moreover preparing to invade Africa by land and sea, a country situated upon the same coast, and by intercepting the sources of bread, to bring upon the enemy the calamity of hunger, and with it that of dissension.

Whilst by such changes as these over the face of the whole earth, the fortune of the Empire was passing from one head to another, Antonius Primus proceeded by no means in the same measure of innocence after his success at Cremona; as he judged that what war could do he had amply done, and whatever was to follow would be easily accomplished; or whether it were, that, in a spirit like his, a flow of felicity only laid open the avarice, pride, and other vices hitherto smothered and lurking in it He oppressed Italy as a country by conquest doomed to spoil; he soothed and courted the Legions as his own; in all his sayings, in all his doings, he sought to fortify himself, sought to lay a mighty foundation of power; and that he might inure the soldiers to wantonness, and wild freedom,

he frankly committed to the discretion of the Legions the choice of Centurions in the room of such as were slain. By these popular suffrages, every the most factious and turbulent spirit came to be chosen; nor were the soldiers any longer under the controulment of their Leaders, but the Leaders forced headlong by the fury of the soldiers: Proceedings apparently seditious, and contrived to debauch the army. Anon he betook himself to feats of rapine, without the least awe of Mucianus who was approaching; a neglect of more terrible consequence than if he had contemned Vespasian in person.

Now, as winter advanced, and the plains were flooded by the overflowing of the Po, the army marched forward, lightly equipped, free from incumbrance and baggage. At Verona were left the Banners and Eagles of the victorious Legions, with all that were aged, and all that were maimed, as also many who were hale and unhurt. As the rage of the war was already extinguished, it seemed sufficient to lead on the auxiliary Cohorts and Cavalry, with a chosen band from the Legions. The eleventh Legion joined the host; a Legion which at first had halted, but now, seeing the issue prosperous, grieved that in it they had no share. There accompanied these, six thousand Dalmatians lately levied. Of all these additional forces Poppæus Silvanus, a man of Consular quality, was Leader; but in Annius Bassus, Commander of that Legion, the whole controul and management lay. He, under the guise of submitting and obeying, ruled Silvanus, as one of himself impotent in war, and ever wasting in talk the seasons of action: nor did Annius fail to assist at whatever required dispatch, with constant industry void of ostentation. To these forces were added all the select Marines from Ravenna, men who made suit to be employed in the Legions. Their places in the fleet were supplied by

by the Dalmatians. The army and its Leaders halted at the Temple of Fortune, under doubt and hesitation about the pursuit of their main design; for they had heard that the Prætorian Cohorts were led out of Rome. They judged too that upon the Apennine they should find guards posted to oppose their passage. Besides, they were terrified with want, in a country utterly desolated by war, terrified with the seditious clamours of the soldiers now importunate for the donative which they call *Clavarium*. In truth, neither of money nor of grain had they made any provision. What disconcerted them, and prevented it, was the temper of the soldiers, so rapacious and eager, since what they should have received as allowance, they ravished away and wasted as prey.

By writers greatly celebrated I find it recorded, that amongst the conquering army such barbarous indifference was found to all feats whatsoever, natural or against nature, that a common soldier in the Cavalry having averred, that in the late combat he had killed his brother, demanded a recompence from the Commanders for the exploit. Nor were they at liberty, either by the laws of humanity, to distinguish such murder with an honourable reward, or, by the policy of the war to punish it. They postponed the man, as if to his service and merit higher obligations were due than could presently be discharged. Any further account about it I find not in the historians. Yet in our civil wars past there happened the like unnatural stroke; for, in the conflict against Cinna at Janiculum, a soldier of Pompey's slew his brother, and anon himself, upon discovering his sad mishap, as the story is related by Sisenna. So much more prompt in the days of our ancestors, as was glory to crown acts of virtue, so was remorse to follow evil deeds. Such incidents as these, revived from ancient story, it

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will not prove foreign to recount, whenever the paſſage or place requires the ſame, either as examples of worthy actions, or ſolacements for thoſe which are wicked.

By Antonius, and the other Leaders of the party, it was after deliberation agreed, to ſend forward the horſe, in order to make ſpecial ſearch through all Umbria for a tolerable paſſage over the ridges of the Apennine, to bring up the Banners and Eagles, and all the ſoldiers left at Verona, and by ſea and the Po to have abundant proviſions brought. Some amongſt the Leaders there were, who ſtudied to frame obſtacles and delays: For Antonius was already grown too mighty and aſſuming, and from Mucianus they hoped a treatment more equal and friendly. The truth is, Mucianus fretted at ſo quick a victory, and judged that were he not preſent at the entry into Rome, he ſhould be deprived of all ſhare in the war, and in the glory of the war. Hence to Primus and Varus he ſent frequent letters, full of doublings and uncertainty, now urging them to purſue their deſigns with vigour, anon recommending the advantages of procraſtination and coolneſs, in a ſtyle ſo contrived, that conformably to the iſſue, whatever it were, he might eaſily diſown all miſcarriages, or eaſily challenge all ſucceſs. With much more openneſs did he tranſmit his meaning and aims to Plotius Griphus, one lately dignified by Veſpaſian with the rank of Senator, and Commander of a Legion, and to other officers ſuch as he truſted. They too all returned anſwers ſuch as cenſured the overhaſty motions of Primus and Varus, and ſuch as complimented Mucianus, who, by conveying theſe letters to Veſpaſian, had effectually cauſed all the proceedings and counſels of Antonius to be prized far beneath his hopes. This was what Antonius could brook with no patience, and upon Mucianus he caſt all the blame, as one by whoſe calum-

calumnies all his own exploits and perils were rendered of no eſtimation. Nor ſpared he bitter words, in his ſpeech ever violent, and a ſtranger to ſubmiſſion. To Veſpaſian he wrote letters, in ſtrains more pompous and aſſuming than towards an Emperor are allowed, and not without ſevere reproaches tacitly aimed at Mucianus. He ſaid, 'It was he 'himſelf who had urged the Pannonian Legions to 'action and arms; by his inſtigation and addreſs 'the Leaders in Mœſia had been influenced and 'rouſed; by his vigour and perſeverance the mighty 'Alps had been attempted and paſſed, Italy poſſeſſed, all ſuccours from Rhætia and Germany 'precluded. That the Legions of Vitellius, when 'found to be at variance and even disjoined, had 'been broken by a furious onſet from the horſe, 'then utterly diſcomfited by the infantry continuing 'the conflict and ſlaughter for a whole day and 'night, was an action of conſummate luſtre, and 'by himſelf accompliſhed. To the fortune of war 'only muſt be aſcribed the fall of Cremona: in 'truth, with public damage much greater, nay, to 'the deſtruction of many noble Cities, had our 'civil diſſentions of old been carried on. He was 'not one who fought for his Emperor with letters 'and meſſengers, but for him expoſed his perſon, 'and wielded his arms. Yet he meant not to leſſen 'the glory of ſuch as had attended the while to the 'eſtabliſhment of Aſia. The tranquillity of Mœſia 'had been their ſtudy; it had been his to preſerve 'and ſecure Italy. By his perſuaſions and autho-'rity had the Provinces of Gaul and Spain, the 'moſt powerful quarters of the Roman world, been 'brought to eſpouſe the cauſe of Veſpaſian. But 'vainly beſtowed had been all his efforts and fa-'tigues, if the recompences of ſo many perils were 'to be reaped by ſuch only as had riſqued none.' Neither did theſe things eſcape the knowledge of Mucia-

Mucianus. Hence between them enſued deadly enmities, in the exerciſe of which Antonius acted with an openneſs unguarded, Mucianus with cloſeneſs and craft, and thence with rancour more implacable.

For Vitellius; as, after the ſore reverſe of his fortune at Cremona, he ſmothered the news of the calamity, by ſuch ſtupid diſſimulation he poſtponed not his diſtreſſes themſelves, but the remedies of his diſtreſſes. For, had he declared the diſaſter, and had recourſe to advice, a reſource would have been found ſtill remaining of hopes and of forces. Whilſt, on the contrary, he feigned that all his proceedings proſpered, he by ſuch falſe repreſentations left his condition deſperate. About his own perſon was obſerved a wonderful ſilence concerning the war; through the City all diſcourſes about it were prohibited, and for this very cauſe the diſcourſes grew more common. Nay, ſuch as, had they been left to their liberty, would have recounted events truly, finding themſelves reſtrained, publiſhed them now with tragical aggravations Nor were the Leaders of the enemy's hoſt wanting to blazon the fame of their victory: With this view whatever ſpies of Vitellius they ſeized they carried all over the camp, that they might behold the mighty force of the conquering army, and then ſent them back to Rome. All theſe Vitellius, when he had ſecretly examined them, cauſed to be murdered. Signal was the firmneſs of ſpirit at this time manifeſted by Julius Agreſtis the Centurion; who, after many conferences with Vitellius, in which he had in vain laboured to awaken him to magnanimity and manhood, at laſt prevailed with him, that he himſelf might be ſent to ſurvey the forces of the foe, and to learn the late tranſactions at Cremona. Neither attempted he to aſſume the lurking behaviour of a ſpy, and eſcape the notice of Antonius, but declaring to him

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the inſtructions from the Emperer and his own deſign, demanded to view the whole in perſon. With him certain perſons were readily ſent, who ſhewed him all the ſcene of the fight, the deſolation and remains of Cremona, and the Legions taken priſoners. Agreſtis returned to Vitellius, and finding him to reject as ſo many falſifications all the accounts which he brought, nay, hearing himſelf accuſed of corruption and infidelity; 'Since then, 'ſaid he, ſome remarkable confirmation is neceſ-'ſary, and ſince neither my life nor my death can 'henceforth avail thee, I will furniſh thee with an 'evidence which thou mayſt credit.' Having ſo ſaid, he left his preſence, and with a voluntary death confirmed to be true what he had declared. Some authors relate that by orders from Vitellius he was murdered, but of his faith and fortitude give the ſame teſtimony.

Vitellius, as it were, rouſed out of a deep ſleep, ordered Julius Priſcus, and Alphenus Varus, with fourteen Prætorian Cohorts and all the ſeveral Squadrons of horſe to beſet the paſſes of the Apennine. After them marched a Legion drawn from the Marines. So many thouſand forces, compoſed of ſelect men and ſelect horſes, had a different General commanded them, were abundantly able to have made even an offenſive war. The other companies of the guards he committed to Lucius Vitellius his brother, for the defence of the City. For himſelf; without departing in the leaſt from his wonted courſe of debauchery, and full of impatience becauſe full of diſtruſt, he accelerated the election of magiſtrates, and then ſettled a ſucceſſion of Conſuls for many years. Our confederates he complimented with new leagues and conceſſions, foreigners with the privileges of Latium. Some nations he diſcharged from all tribute, upon others conferred freſh advantages and immunities; and in ſum,

ſum, without all regard to futurity, rent and exhauſted the Empire. But the common herd were ſtruck with theſe his acts of benevolence, ſo conſpicuous and mighty: Such as were extremely fooliſh procured them at a price: With men of ſenſe they paſſed for void, like all bounties which can neither be granted nor accepted without impairing the Public. At length, moved by the inceſſant ſuit of the army, which now lay at Mevania, and accompanied by a mighty band of Senators, ſeveral following to make their court, many more to comply with his deſire and fears, he arrived in the camp, in himſelf undetermined, and open to any traiterous counſel.

Whilſt he was diſcourſing to an aſſembly of the ſoldiers, over his head there flew (a thing prodigious to be told) a flock of ravenous birds, ſo numerous, that, like a black cloud, they darkened the day. With this concurred an omen of direful portent; a bull eſcaped from the Altar, and overturning all the equipage of the Sacrifice, was at laſt ſlain at a diſtance from thence, not in the place where it is cuſtomary to fell the victims. But the chief prodigy was, Vitellius himſelf, an Imperial Commander unacquainted with warfare, a head void of counſel and foreſight. To others he was continually applying for information, how to put the army in array, what foreſight was required in gaining intelligence, and by what meaſures was the war to be puſhed or prolonged? Nay, upon whatever tidings arrived, he was ſure to betray much dread and trembling, even in his countenance and gait: Then he never failed to be drunk. In the end, ſurfeited with the camp, and learning the revolt of the Fleet at Miſenum, he returned to Rome, ſtill moſt terrified with the ſtroke that fell lateſt, and not attending to the ultimate danger and conteſt. For when an occaſion was preſented ſo open

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and inviting for paſſing the Apennine with an army in prime vigour, and falling upon an enemy pinched with want and the rigour of winter, he, by diſperſing his forces, reſigned to certain ſlaughter and captivity a body of men ſo undaunted, ſuch as, rather than abandon him, were determined to periſh for him: A proceeding directly againſt the judgment of all the ableſt Centurions, who, had their advice been required, would have adviſed what was righteous and true. Far from Vitellius his minions kept ſuch men, and ſo diſpoſed and trained were the Emperor's ears, that whatever was wholſom he found to be harſh, nor would admit other counſels than ſuch as proved pleaſing and pernicious.

The Fleet at Miſenum Claudius Faventinus drew to revolt, by forging letters from Veſpaſian, and in his name tempting them with offers of reward for this their diſloyalty. Of ſuch prevalence during civil diſſentions is any impudent attempt even of individuals; ſince this Faventinus was no other than a Centurion who had been by Galba degraded with marks of ignominy. Over the Fleet there commanded Claudius Apollinaris, who proved neither firm to his faith, nor reſolute in his infidelity: So that Apinius Tiro, once Prætor, and then accidentally at Minturnæ, preſented himſelf as a Leader to the revolters. By theſe the neighbouring Colonies and municipal Cities were vehemently preſſed to concur; and, as the people of Puteoli were eſpecially zealous for Veſpaſian, whereas they of Capua adhered faithfully to Vitellius, with the rage of the civil War they blended the ancient competition of jealous and angry neighbours. To ſoften and reclaim the minds of the ſoldiers Vitellius made choice of Julianus, who had lately ruled the fleet at Miſenum with a very gentle hand: For ſuccours he had allotted him one of the City Cohorts

Cohorts and the band of Gladiators which were already under his authority. When this body and that of the revolters came to encamp near each other, Julianus without pausing long, went over to the party of Vespasian, and together they mastered Tarracina, a City deriving its security rather from the situation and walls, than from the spirit and steadiness of the inhabitants.

When to Vitellius these transactions were known, he caused part of his forces to remain at Narnia under the Captains of the Prætorian Guards, and sent his brother Lucius with six Cohorts and five hundred horse, to make head against the insurrections begun in Campania. He himself, under great anguish of spirit, was yet revived by the testimonies of affection from the soldiers, and by the cries of the populace, requiring to be put under arms; and thus deluded by empty shew, to the impotent crowd, ever dastardly, and in words only daring, he gave the awful names of Legions and Army. In pursuance of the advice urged by his Freedmen (for as to his friends, the higher their rank the more faithless the men) he ordered the people to be assembled by their Tribes, and to all such as gave in their names the oath of fidelity was administered. As the multitude of Volunteers was over-abundant, between the two Consuls he parted the care of continuing the levy. Upon the Senators he laid an injunction to furnish a certain number of slaves, and a certain weight of silver. The Roman Knights proffered their money and their persons: nay, the descendents of Freedmen, of their own frank motion, pressed for leave to contribute the like assistance: Offers which though at first hollow, and inspired only by officious fear, came at last to be sincerely intended, and the effect of pure good-will. In truth, the major part were touched with pity, not so much for Vitellius, as for the melancholy

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fate and ſituation of the Sovereignty. Yet neither did he himſelf fail to move commiſeration by his ſad countenance, his doleful expreſſions, and many tears, in his promiſes very liberal, nay, extravagant, ſuitably to the nature of men under the agonies of fear. Now too he would needs aſſume the title of *Cæſar*, a title which till then he had rejected: but at this juncture he was ſtruck with the ſuperſtitious efficacy of the name; beſides that under the operations of diſmay, equal attention is given to the bablings of the crowd as to the counſels of the wiſe. For the reſt; as all meaſures riſing from fits of ardour ſudden and unadviſed, are in their firſt motions vehement, but by ſpace and continuance wax faint, the Senators by degrees dropped away, as did alſo the Roman Knights, at firſt indeed leiſurely and with caution, and where he was not preſent to ſee them. Anon they avowed their contempt, and retired without diſtinction or reſerve: So that Vitellius, aſhamed of an attempt thus baffled and abortive, remitted all ſuch conceſſions as he found were not to be granted.

As upon Italy it brought great terror, to ſee Mevania occupied by an army, and thence a freſh war as it were reviving in full vigour; ſo doubtleſs to the intereſt of Veſpaſian an increaſe of public zeal and partiality accrued from the departure of Vitellius, who in it betrayed ſuch huge affright. Already prompt and even elated were the Samnites, and the Pelignians, and the Marſians: Nay, in competition and jealouſy towards the people of Campania, who had the merit of an earlier deſertion, they were indefatigable in all the toils and exigencies of war; as it is uſual in a cauſe newly eſpouſed to be very officious and forward. But ſo turbulent and ſevere was the winter, that, in paſſing over the Apennine, the army was ſorely annoyed; and as they were thus ſtruggling with difficulty

ficulty out of the deep ſnows, even when no enemy diſturbed their march, it was abundantly manifeſt what terrible peril they muſt have undergone, had not Fortune diſpoſed Vitellius to return back, that Fortune from which Veſpaſian's Leaders derived aſſiſtance and relief, at leaſt as often as from their own dexterity and counſel. In the mountains they were met by Petilius Cerialis, who, under the habit of a poor peaſant, and through his ſkill in the ſituation, had eſcaped the guards belonging to Vitellius. With Veſpaſian, Cerialis was nearly allied, in himſelf too no mean warriour, and hence taken into equal command with the other Chiefs. That to Flavius Sabinus alſo and to Domitian there was room to have eſcaped, many writers agree. In truth ſeveral meſſengers had by various wiles and diſguiſes made ſhift to reach them from Antonius, and ſhewed them from what place they might fly, and upon what guard and ſecurity depend. Sabinus pleaded his infirmities, unable to bear fatigue, unfit for daring exploits. In Domitian was found no want of ſpirit or will; but, of the guards placed about him by Vitellius, though they offered themſelves for companions of his flight, he entertained apprehenſions, leſt thence they meant againſt him ſome pernicious ſnare. Moreover Vitellius, himſelf, in tenderneſs to his own family and kindred, meditated nothing barbarous againſt Domitian.

When the Generals were arrived at Carſulæ, there, for repoſe, they ſpent a few days, till the Eagles and Banners of the Legions had overtaken them. The place too where they encamped pleaſed them, affording a proſpect extenſive and noble, with ſecure conveyance for all proviſions, as behind them lay ſo many large Cities full of opulence. They had likewiſe a view to draw the forces of Vitellius, only ten miles diſtant, into ſome intercourſe, and thence into infidelity and deſertion:

A project bitterly resented by the soldiers: What they sought was conquest rather than pacification. They were indeed against awaiting the arrival of their own Legions, whom they more apprehended as sharers in the prey, than considered as partakers in the peril. Antonius addressing himself to them for this purpose assembled, informed them, 'That 'Vitellius was still master of forces, such as would 'faulter, were they let alone to deliberate, but 'rouse all their vigour if once made desperate. To 'the direction of Fortune were to be left the first motions of a civil war, but the work of completing the 'conquest must be conducted by counsel and prudence. Already had the Fleet at Misenum revolted, with all the rich and charming region of 'Campania; nor of the whole globe remained 'there more to Vitellius than what lay between 'Tarracina and Narnia. Abundant glory had been 'acquired by the battle of Cremona, and by the 'destruction of that City, abhorrence overmuch. 'Far be it from them to covet the taking of Rome 'like enemies, rather than to preserve it like Citizens. 'Much higher rewards would they reap, and honour in most ample measure, if to the Senate and 'People of Rome they procured security and protection without the effusion of blood.'

By these and the like reasonings their spirits were calmed, nor was it long ere the Legions arrived. From the fame and dread of the army thus augmented, the Vitellian Cohorts began to fluctuate; since none appeared to encourage them to opposition and war, as did many to desert and surrender: Nay, they were striving to outgo one another in delivering over their several companies of foot and troops of horse, each intending it as a present gratification to the conqueror, and a ground of future favour to himself. From these men it was learnt, that four hundred horse kept garrison at Interamna,

a place

a place in the neighbourhood. Thither Varus was forthwith dispatched with a light band: The few who resisted he put to the sword; the major part threw down their arms and craved mercy. Some escaped, and flying quite back to the Camp at Narnia, filled it with universal affright, as they magnified above measure the forces and bravery of the enemy, thence to lessen their own infamy in losing their garrison. Neither amongst the forces of Vitellius was there any punishment inflicted for any crime; whilst from the other party sure rewards attended their desertion. Nor henceforth was any other struggle seen save for precedence in perfidiousness and treason, and incessantly were the Tribunes and Centurions flying over to the stronger. For the common soldiers persisted inflexibly in their adherence to Vitellius, till Priscus and Alphenus having abandoned the Camp and returned to Vitellius, had left them all free and amply absolved from any stain of infidelity in shifting thenceforth for themselves.

During those days Fabius Valens was slain in prison at Urbin, and to the view of the Vitellian Cohorts his head displayed, to prevent their cherishing any farther hopes: For, they believed he had escaped into Germany, and was there assembling a mighty army of old forces and new. Perceiving that he was slain, they sunk into utter despair. The army of Vespasian also inferred immense effects from the doom of Valens, no less than the end of the war. Valens was born at Anagnia, of an Equestrian house, in his morals a libertine, who by licentious gayeties aimed at the character of condescension and pleasantry, neither wanted he suitable quickness of parts. In the Interludes called Juvenalia exhibited by Nero, he usually acted a pantomime, a part to which he at first would seem to be forced, but anon, made it his choice, and acquitted himself

ſelf with more art than modeſty and honour. Bearing the command of a Legion in the army of Verginius, he prompted that General to aſſume the Empire, and then blackened and defamed him as aiming at it. Fonteius Capito he aſſaſſinated, having firſt corrupted his loyalty, or becauſe he found it incorruptible. To Galba he proved a traitor, faithful to Vitellius, and from the prevailing perfidiouſneſs of others his fidelity received its luſtre.

The ſoldiers of Vitellius, now utterly bereft of hope on every ſide, proceeded to paſs over to the party of Veſpaſian, and in this ſtep too acted with no ſmall ignominy, as, under their banners and enſigns all diſplayed, they deſcended into the plain below Narnia, there to ſurrender. Upon the ſide of the highway was ranged the army of Veſpaſian in cloſe files, arrayed as if for battle and juſt ready to engage. Into their centre they received the Vitellians, and having encompaſſed them round, Antonius Primus ſpoke to them in a ſtile of much meekneſs and humanity, ordering part of them to remain at Narnia, part at Interamna. With them he alſo left ſome of the victorious Legions, ſuch as, if they were peaceable, would not annoy them, yet if they proved turbulent were able to maſter them. During all this time Antonius and Varus neglected not, by repeated meſſages, to make offers to Vitellius, of ſafety to his perſon, of revenues, and of any private retirement in Campania, if, laying arms aſide, he would ſubmit himſelf and his children to Veſpaſian. Mucianus likewiſe ſent him letters in the ſame tendency and ſtrain. Nay, in theſe offers Vitellius for the moſt part repoſed truſt and reliance, and was wont to diſcourſe what number of domeſticks he was to retain, and what pleaſant receſs near the ſea he muſt chuſe. Such abſolute ſtupidity had ſeized his ſpirit, that if others would not remember he had been Emperor, he himſelf was ready to forget, and venture to live a private man.

Now the Grandees of Rome were by ſecret diſcourſes rouſing Flavius Sabinus Governor of the City, 'to think of winning a ſhare in victory and 'in fame. Upon him immediately depended the 'ſoldiers of the Cohorts there, nor would thoſe 'of the night-watch fail to eſpouſe him, their own 'ſlaves ſhould form bands and join him, the ſucceſsful fortune of the party was with him, and 'all things diſpoſed to ſerve a conquering cauſe. 'Nor ought he thus lazily to leave to Antonius 'and Varus precedence in glory. Few were the 'Cohorts remaining with Vitellius, theſe few by 'diſmal tidings from all quarters quite diſmayed. 'Fleeting and unſtable was the ſpirit of the populace, and from them, if he once preſented himſelf as their head, he would find the ſame torrent 'of flattery and zeal turned inſtantly upon Veſpaſian. For the perſon of Vitellius; he was unequal to ſupport even a courſe of proſperity, and 'now utterly ſtunned and heart-broken by a terrible train of calamities. Upon him who made 'himſelf maſter of Rome, whoever he were, would 'devolve the praiſe and acknowledgment of having finiſhed the war. In Sabinus it was becoming to ſecure and reſerve the Sovereignty for his 'brother, in Veſpaſian to poſtpone all men to Sabinus.'

With no warmth or alacrity were theſe reaſonings received by a man through years diſabled in his perſon and his parts. Some there were who harboured againſt him private ſuſpicions and cenſure, as if through malignity and emulation he ſtudied to mar the grandeur of his brother's fortune. For Flavius Sabinus, beſides his ſeniority, whilſt they were both private men, greatly ſurpaſſed Veſpaſian in wealth and eſtimation. He was even believed to have propped his brother's credit, otherwiſe ſinking, and for the money lent to have received in pledge

pledge his houſe and poſſeſſions. Hence, though between them a face of unanimity ſubſiſted, dark grudges and heart-burnings were apprehended to remain. The juſter conſtruction is, 'That the 'man, naturally merciful and gentle, had in ab-'horrence all ſlaughter and the ſpilling of blood, 'and therefore frequently conferred with Vitellius 'about the means of reſtoring public peace, and 'laying down arms by mutual conceſſions and trea-'ty.' Many meetings they had at home; at laſt in the Temple of Apollo, as fame reported, they ratified the pacification. To their words and mutual declarations they had two witneſſes, Cluvius Rufus and Silius Italicus. Their countenances were carefully obſerved by thoſe at a diſtance, that of Vitellius unmanly and abject, whilſt Sabinus, far from inſulting, looked rather like a man filled with compaſſion.

The truth is, if Vitellius could have brought the minds of his followers to have been as eaſy in complying as he had been in yielding, the army of Veſpaſian had entered Rome without blood. But every one of thoſe, in proportion to his fidelity to Vitellius, rejected peace and the terms of peace. They repreſented, 'How inſecure, how ignomini-'ous they were, and that only upon the wanton 'humour of the conqueror the faith of performing 'them reſted. Nor would Veſpaſian manifeſt ſuch 'high contempt for Vitellius as to ſuffer him to 'live even a private man: Neither indeed would 'the party vanquiſhed ever bear it. So that from 'this commiſeration of theirs would ariſe his cer-'tain danger. He himſelf, in truth, was an an-'cient man, and already ſatiated with the various 'courſes of fortune, both pleaſing and diſaſtrous: 'But to Germanicus his ſon, what name and cha-'racter, what place and ſituation would remain? 'At preſent he had large promiſes of treaſure, of

'domeſtics, and of ſeats upon the delightful coaſts
'and bays of Campania. But from the moment
'Veſpaſian had maſtered the State, nor he, nor
'his friends, nor even his armies, would find them-
'ſelves in perfect ſecurity till with the life of the
'competitor all competition were extinguiſhed.
'Even Fabius Valens, though their captive, nay,
'though reſerved for uſe againſt a day of of exi-
'gency, proved too alarming and grievous to theſe
'men to be any longer borne. Far leſs did Anto-
'nius and Fuſcus, far leſs did the luminary of the
'party, Mucianus, intend any terms for Vitellius
'ſave that of killing him. Nor by Cæſar was the
'enjoyment of life left to Pompey, nor by Auguſ-
'tus to Anthony: Unleſs Veſpaſian peradventure
'poſſeſſed ſuperior greatneſs of ſoul, he who was
'no more than a creature of Vitellius, when Vi-
'tellius was Collegue in the Conſulſhip with the
'Emperor Claudius. A nobler choice Vitellius ſtill
'had, to be rouſed even by deſpair to ſome at-
'tempt daring and brave, ſuch as became the high
'honours ſuſtained by his father, even that of Cen-
'ſor, and of three Conſulſhips, ſuch as became
'the luſtre of his venerable houſe, diſtinguiſhed
'with ſo many grand dignities in the State. The
'ſoldiers perſevered inflexibly in their allegiance;
'in the people the ſame zeal ſtill remained. At
'worſt, nothing more tragical could enſue, than
'what they were already ruſhing wilfully into.
'They muſt die if they fought and were vanquiſh-
'ed, they muſt die if they ſubmitted and ſurren-
'dered. This only conſideration imported them,
'whether to reſign their ſpirits tamely under ſcorn
'and reproach, or bravely, like men worthy to
'live.'

Deaf and impenetrable to all magnanimous counſels were the ears of Vitellius. His ſoul was overwhelmed with tenderneſs and anxiety, leſt, by perſiſting

fisting in oppofition and arms, he fhould render the conqueror lefs relenting towards his wife and children. He had alfo lately a mother, a lady fpent with age, and fortunate enough, by dying opportunely a few days before, to efcape beholding the cruel downfall of her houfe; nor by her fon's advancement to the Empire obtained fhe aught fave forrow, and an excellent name. On the eighteenth of December having learnt the defection of the Legion and Cohorts which had fubmitted to the enemy at Nárnia, he went forth from the palace, in mourning apparel, amidft his domeftics all wailing and fad. With them was carried his little fon, a helplefs infant, in a fmall litter, as it were in a funeral folemnity accompanying him to his grave. The people attended with loud fhouts, very complaifant and very prepofterous. The foldiers with dreadful looks lowred in filence.

Nor was any one found now fo unthoughtful of the variable lot of all things human, as not to be fenfibly affected with this doleful fcene; the Emperor of the Romans, lately Lord of human kind, relinquifhing the feat of Imperial Fortune, and, through the midft of the people, through the ftreets of the City, parting from the Empire! no fuch fight had they ever feen, no fuch event had they ever heard. By an inftant ftroke of violence Cæfar the Dictator fell, Caligula by fecret combination. Under the fhades of night, and in a country place folitary and unknown, the flight of Nero was hid. Galba and Pifo perifhed as it were in battle. Vitellius in the face of the people, upon his own account aflembled, encompaffed by his own foldiers, nay, under the eyes even of the women beholding him from their houfes, declared his own fall in few words, fuch as fuited his forrowful fituation, 'That he voluntarily withdrew for the fake 'of public peace and of the Commonweal. Of

'them he asked no more than only to be holden 'in remembrance by them, and that to his bro- 'ther, to his wife, and to his tender and innocent 'children, they would shew compassion and mercy.' At the same time extending his arms with his little son in them, he commended him now to one, now to another, then to all. At last, his speech being interrupted through abundant weeping, he ungirt his sword from his side, and presented it to the Consul (this was Cæcilius Simplex, who stood just by him) as thus resigning up the authority of life and death over the citizens. As the Consul refused to receive it, and the assembly with clamours opposed it, he departed with intention to divest himself of all the garniture of Sovereignty in the Temple of Concord, and thence to seek a private retirement in his brother's house. Hence ensued clamours yet more vehement, all declaring against his withdrawing to a private dwelling, all calling him back to the Palace. They even shut up every other way, and only left open that which leads through the street called Sacred. He then, unfurnished with counsel or resource, returned to the Palace. Already had the rumour flown that he had abdicated the Empire, and already Flavius Sabinus had written to the Tribunes of the Prætorian Guards, to keep the soldiers under obedience and restraint.

Thus, as if the Commonwealth were falling intire into the hands of Vespasian, all the principal Senators, numbers of the Equestrian Order, with the whole City-soldiery, and those of the Night-watch, crowded to the house of Flavius Sabinus. Thither was brought them an account of the ardent zeal found in the populace for Vitellius, and of the terrible menaces from the bands of Germans. Sabinus had now advanced further than consisted with a possibility of retreating. Besides every particular there consulting his own personal peril, and all apprehend-

prehending left, whilst they were separated, and thence unequal to stand an attack, the Vitellian Cohorts should beset them, they excited him to take arms, of himself hesitating and backward. But, as in exigencies like these it happens, the counsel was given by all, but to face the danger few would adventure. About the Fundane Lake some of the boldest of Vitellius's men assailed those who were come forth in arms with Sabinus. As the encounter there was sudden and tumultuous, the skirmish was short, but the success remained with the Vitellians. Sabinus, under this distress and affright, recurred to the securest expedient that offered, and shut himself up in the Fort of the Capitol with his miscellaneous soldiery, as also with certain Senators and Roman Knights; men whose names it were not easy to recount, for that when Vespasian had conquered all opposition, many there were who pretended to this proof of their merit towards his party. Even women chose to enter and abide the siege: Amongst these the most signal of all was Verulana Gracilia, a Lady who followed thither neither her children, nor kindred, nor relations, but only followed the war. The soldiers of Vitellius invested the Capitol, but with stations altogether loose and ill guarded; insomuch that during the dead of the night Sabinus caused to be brought to him thither his own children, and Domitian his brother's son. Moreover, after he had by means of places not secured, sent an express to Vespasian's Generals to acquaint him that himself and his friends were besieged, and, unless relieved, could hardly escape, he passed the night so free from any annoyance or alarm, that it was apparent he might have departed away without any hazard incurred. For the soldiers of Vitellius, who in facing dangers were so fierce and brave, shewed small list or application to continued toils, and the fatigues of constant

watchings. Beſides, a ſudden ſtorm of rain, keen and vehement ſuitably to the winter ſeaſon, bereſt them of ſight and hearing.

As ſoon as day dawned, before reciprocal hoſtilities began, he ſent Cornelius Martialis, a Centurion of principal rank, to Vitellius with inſtructions and expoſtulations, 'about his violating ſolemn ſtipulations. That his offer to abdicate the 'Empire had been a pure device and phantaſy, contrived to delude ſo many illuſtrious men. Why 'elſe, upon retiring from the aſſembly, did he rather chuſe his brother's houſe, overlooking the 'great Forum, and fitly placed to attract the eyes 'of all men, than Mount Aventine, and his wife's 'houſe there? This was a receſs which would have 'become him, had he ſought a ſtation truly private, and ſtudied to fly all ſhew and diſplay of 'Sovereignty. Quite contrary had been the conduct of Vitellius; he had again betaken himſelf 'to the Palace, betaken himſelf to the very centre 'and citadel of the Empire. Thence by his order 'an armed hoſt had ſallied, ſcattering deſtruction. 'Strewed and defiled with the blood and carcaſſes 'of innocents was the nobleſt part of the city. 'Even the Capitol was not exempt from profaning 'violence. For himſelf; like other Senators, he 'only wore the pacific robe, whilſt between Veſpaſian and Vitellius the conteſt for Empire was 'deciding by combating Legions, by the capture 'of Cities, and by the deſertion and ſurrender of 'Cohorts. Already to Veſpaſian had revolted both 'Spains, Germany the higher and the lower, and 'all Britain; yet ſtill he, the brother of Veſpaſian, 'perſiſted in faith and duty to Vitellius, till even 'by Vitellius he was invited to treat of an accommodation. In concord and peace the vanquiſhed 'found ſelf-preſervation, the conquerors only matter of glory. If he were ſorry for the treaty

'made,

'made, let him not draw his ſword againſt Sabi-
'nus, the man whom he had perfidiouſly circum-
'vented, nor againſt the ſon of Veſpaſian, one not
'arrived at manhood. From the blood of a ſingle
'old man, from that of a ſingle youth, what migh-
'ty advantage would be gained? No, let him go
'forth and confront the Legions, and there bravely
'contend for the enjoyment of power ſupreme.'
In anſwer to all this, Vitellius, under great agonies and affright, offered a few words to clear his innocence, throwing the whole fault upon 'the ſol-
'diers; ſince their impetuoſity was beyond bounds,
'ſuch as his gentle rule was unable to reſtrain.' He even warned Martialis, 'to retire ſecretly through
'an obſcure part of the houſe, that he might not
'be aſſaſſinated by the ſoldiers; as the mediator of
'a peace, which was what they abhorred.' To himſelf no power remained either to command or to prohibit, nor was he any longer Emperor, but only the cauſe of war.

Hardly had Martialis returned to the Capitol ere the ſoldiers approached, full of fury, under no leader, every man his own maſter. The rapid hoſt paſſing by the Forum, and the Temples which overlook the Forum, mounted the oppoſite aſcent in battle array, and advanced even to the outermoſt gates of the Fort in the Capitol. Of old, upon the ſide of the declivity, to the right-hand as you aſcend, there ſtood certain portico's: from the roofs of theſe the beſieged caſting ſtones and tiles, overwhelmed the aſſailants; nor had the latter other weapons to wield than their ſwords only; and as too tedious it ſeemed to have their engines drawn up with materials for throwing, into that portico which hung juſt over them, they hurled flaming torchs, and purſued their attack by fire. The gates of the Capitol were already on a flame, and the enemy muſt have entered, had not Sabinus pulled down the

Statues on all hands, and with these the glorious monuments of our forefathers, raised in the very entrance a new wall. They then strove to force a passage from the opposite avenues of the Capitol, that by the grove of the Sanctuary, and that where the Tarpeian Rock is ascended by a hundred stairs. Both assaults were alarming and unforeseen; but closer and fiercer was that at the grove. Nor was it possible to stay their progress, as they climbed over the contiguous buildings, which, in a long course of domestic peace, had been suffered to be raised upon the side of the hill, so high that they reached the foundation of the Capitol. It here remains undecided, whether to the adjoining roofs fire was set by the assailants, or, which is more currently reported, by the besieged, whilst they strove to repulse such as were yet mounting up, and such as had already gained ground. From thence the fire spread to the portico's of the Capitol adjoining to the houses, and the eagles which supported the roof, as the timber was very old, instantly catched the flames, and nourished them. Thus burned the Capitol, and burned to ashes, with its gates shut, without being defended, and without being forced or plundered.

This outrage was the most deplorable that had happened since the founding of the City, and to the Roman Commonweal the most horrid and reproachful. At a time when no foreign enemy annoyed us, whilst towards us the Gods, as far as our evil demeanour would suffer them, were shewing themselves propitious, the residence of Jove all-good, all-great, by our ancestors reared with solemn benedictions and auspices, as the pledge and centre of future Empire, that sacred Seat which had escaped profanation even from Porsena, upon the surrender of Rome to him, escaped it even from the Gauls, when they had taken the City,

suffered

suffered desolation from the rage of our own Princes, who accomplished a calamity which our public enemies could never accomplish! Once before too the Capitol was destroyed by fire during a civil war, but then through private malignity. It was now publicly besieged, publicly burned, alas, from what causes of mutual arms? What prize to compensate a destruction so mighty? Did we thus fight for our Country? The elder Tarquin during his war with the Sabines made a vow to build it, and even laid the foundations, such as rather corresponded with his own hopes of its rising to grandeur in times to come, than suited to the then low condition of the Roman people. Thereafter Servius Tullius carried it on with the friendly concurrence of our confederates; and to finish it, Tarquin the proud, having taken Suessa Pometia, applied all the spoils of the enemy. But to the times and establishment of public liberty, the glory of the work was reserved. Upon the expulsion of the Kings, Horatius Pulvillus in his second Consulship dedicated it, having improved and increased it to such signal grandeur, that all the ensuing wealth of the Romans, however immense, though it might serve to give new embellishments, could add no new magnificence. Upon the same foundation it rose again, when burnt; after an interval of four hundred and twenty five years, in the Consulship of Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus. The care of rebuilding it then Sylla undertook, having now mastered all opposition; yet he dedicated it not: This was the only thing withholden from him to complete his felicity. Upon it the name of Catulus, amongst so many great works and monuments of the Emperors remained all along till the days of Vitellius: Then was this edifice laid in ashes.

But from the fire much more dread accrued to the besieged than to the assailants: For the soldiers

of Vitellius, in doubtful emergencies, wanted no addreſs or reſolution. On the oppoſite ſide, the men were diſmayed, and ſpiritleſs the Leader; nay, as if bereft of his faculties, he exerciſed not the natural offices of ſpeech, or of hearing, neither ſwayed by the counſels of others, nor furniſhed with any of his own, but by the ſeveral cries of the enemies driven headlong hither and thither. What he had commanded he again forbad, what he had forbidden he again commanded. Anon, what uſually happens in forlorn circumſtances, all directed, none obeyed. At length, caſting away their arms, they only meditated how to lurk or where to fly. Then burſt in the bands of Vitellius, and with fire, and ſword, and carnage, made univerſal havock. A few military men who ventured to encounter them, were ſlaughtered: Of theſe the moſt ſignal were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacenſis, Caſperius Niger, and Didius Scæva. They encompaſſed Flavius Sabinus, deſtitute of arms, nor offering to fly; as they did Quinctius Atticus the Conſul, a man ſufficiently remarkable by the ornaments of his office, as well as for his own vainglorious conduct, as he had wantonly addreſſed to the people certain edicts very pompous in behalf of Veſpaſian, very bitter and opprobrious towards Vitellius. The reſt, through divers chances and ſtratagems, eſcaped, ſome diſguiſed under the habit of ſlaves, others concealed by their truſty adherents, and even buried amongſt bundles. There were ſeveral who having learnt the word whence the Vitellians were diſtinguiſhed by one another, and venturing to uſe it, by aſking it boldly and anſwering readily, from ſuch confidence drew the ſame ſecurity as from a hiding-place

Upon the firſt irruption of the foe, Domitian was by the device of his Freedman conveyed ſecretly into the houſe of the Warden, and under the diſguiſe

disguise of a linnen robe, thrust amongst the Tribe of Sacrificers, where passing undiscovered, he continued lurking at the house of Cornelius Primus, a dependent of his father's, near the place called *Velabrum*. He afterwards, in the reign of his father, having demolished the Warden's apartment, reared upon the place a small Chapel dedicated to *Jove the Protector*, with an Altar, and the story of this adventure graved upon marble. Not long thence, when he arrived at the Sovereignty, he erected a vast Temple sacred to *Jove the Guardian*, with himself held in the arms of the God. Sabinus and Atticus, loaded with irons, and carried to Vitellius, were by him received with no bitter words, with no hostile countenance. Hence the rage of those who claimed privilege to butcher them, as also high rewards for the late exploit by them deemed a decisive victory. Thus clamours ensued, which being first begun by such as stood nearest, the vile and debauched sort of the populace called aloud for the present execution of Sabinus, and with this their demand intermixt many threatenings as well as much flattery. Nay, they forced Vitellius to forbear interposing, as he stood upon the stairs of the Palace preparing to soften them by intreaties. Instantly they thrust Sabinus through, and mangled him, then cutting off his head, dragged his trunk to the charnel of malefactors.

This was the fate of a man by no means to be contemned. Five and thirty years had he carried arms for the Commonweal, and, both in peace and war, bore a very signal reputation. As to the innocence of his life, and justice of his actions, he was unspotted: In his discourse he was over-copious: This was the only failing which even busy rumour could object to him during all the seven years that he ruled Mœsia, during all the twelve that he was Governor of Rome. In the end of his

his life he was by ſome judged to have been ſlow and ſpiritleſs, by many to have been prudent and moderate, and deſirous to ſpare the blood of his fellow-citizens. In one thing all men conſent, that before Veſpaſian became Emperor, the dignity of the family centered in the perſon of Sabinus. I have been informed, that his fall was well pleaſing to Mucianus. Indeed moſt men alledged, that by it peace and unanimity in the State were ſecured; as all emulation was now for ever removed between theſe two, who would always have been conſidering themſelves, the one as the Emperor's brother, the other as his companion in power. But when the people required the doom of the Conſul, Vitellius perſevered in oppoſing them, being himſelf now pacified, and as it were repaying him a courteſy; ſince to ſuch as had aſked him who it was that ſet fire to the Capitol, he made free confeſſion of being the perſon guilty. By this acknowledgment, or be it a fiction only framed to temporize, in aſſuming the crime, and the odium of the crime, he ſeemed to have acquitted as innocent the party of Vitellius.

During theſe days, Lucius Vitellius having encamped at Feronia, threatened to ſtorm and ſack Terracina. Within it were ſhut up the Gladiators and Marines, a garriſon who dared not venture without their walls, nor face the enemy in the field. Over the Gladiators (as above I have recounted) there commanded Julianus, over the Marines Apollinaris, two men in ſlothfulneſs and debauchery reſembling rather common Gladiators than principal Commanders. No watch they kept; none of the weak parts of the walls did they ſtrengthen or ſecure; by night and by day they wallowed in voluptuouſneſs, and with their gay revellings upon thoſe delicious ſhores, the whole coaſt reſounded. Their ſoldiers were diſperſed abroad to procure ſupplies

plies for their luxury; and only whilſt they were feaſting, did they talk of war. Apinius Tiro was gone from thence a few days before, and, by exacting from the municipal Cities money and preſents with notable rigour, gained to the party much more malevolence than ſtrength. In the mean time a ſlave of Virgilius Capito fled over to Lucius Vitellius, and undertook, if he were furniſhed with a band of men, to deliver up the caſtle ſecretly, deſtitute as it was of guards. Thus in the dead of night, he lodged ſome Cohorts lightly armed upon the ridge of the hills juſt over the head of the enemy. From thence the ſoldiers ruſhed down, indeed rather to a maſſacre than an encounter. Some void of arms, others endeavouring to arm, ſeveral juſt frighted out of their ſleep, were all eaſily vanquiſhed and overthrown, as with the profound darkneſs, with the ſudden alarm and diſmay, trumpets ſounding, and enemies ſhouting, they were all diſconcerted and aſtoniſhed. A few of the Gladiators reſiſted ſtoutly, nor died without firſt revenging their deaths. The reſt fled with all their ſpeed to the ſhips, where all were equally embaraſſed by the ſame diſtreſs and affright; for with the ſoldiers were intermixt the inhabitants of Terracina, and theſe two the Vitellians ſlaughtered, without making any diſtinction. Six ſmall gallies, juſt as the uproar and conſternation began, eſcaped away, and in one of them Apollinaris Commander of the Fleet. All the other veſſels were ſeized by the ſhore, or, ſurcharged by the thronging crowd, ſunk to the bottom. Julianus was haled away to Lucius Vitellius, and being firſt ſcourged, till he was all covered with gore, executed in his ſight. There were ſome who charged Triaria the wife of Lucius, as if with a military ſabre girt to her ſide, ſhe had manifeſted dreadful inſolence and barbarity of ſpirit, even amidſt the doleful wailings, and ſad deſolation of Terracina

cina under the calamitous lot of spoil and massacre. He himself, as an indication of his prosperous atchievement, sent to his brother a crown of laurel, and desired his orders whether to return forthwith to Rome, or to persist in the reduction of Campania. This pause was of salutary consequence not to Vespasian's part only, but to the whole Commonwealth. In truth, had the soldiers, naturally headstrong, now elated with success, proceeded to Rome just hot from their victory, a struggle not a little terrible must have ensued, nor could it have been decided without the destruction of the City. For in Lucius Vitellius, however infamous he were, no want of vigour was found; not that from any virtue he derived his importance and power, as all worthy men do theirs, but, like every other wicked man, from his villainy and vices.

Whilst by the party of Vitellius these things were transacted, Vespasian's army, having departed from Narnia, diverted themselves at Ocriculum in celebrating the annual Feast of Saturn, a festival of many days; as if no other employment had awaited them. The cause of a delay so preposterous was, to stay for the coming of Mucianus. Nor were there wanting some who entertained suspicions of Antonius, and charged him, 'As if through treachery he thus lingered, in consequence of the letters secretly sent him from Vitellius, with offers of the Consulship, and of his daughter then marriageable, and, with her a mighty fortune, as the rewards of revolting from Vespasian.' Others alledged, 'That all this charge was no more than a fiction, framed purely in court to Mucianus.' Several argued, 'That it was a resolution concerted amongst all the Leaders, rather to present the city with a terrible display of war, than to carry the war thither; since the chief strength of the Prætorian Bands had already deserted Vitellius,

who

'who was likewiſe precluded from any reinforce-
'ment on every hand: So that it was preſumed he
'would quietly yield up the Empire; but that all
'was marred and diſconcerted, firſt by the raſhneſs,
'then by the puſillanimity of Sabinus, who having
'inconſiderately taken up arms, had not been able
'to maintain the invincible Fort of the Capitol
'againſt three Cohorts, a place ſtrong enough to
'defy the aſſaults of mighty armies.' The truth is, one cannot eaſily upbraid any particular Commander with a fault committed by all. For beſides that Mucianus, by his dark and equivocal letters, retarded the motion of the conquering army, Antonius too incurred great guilt by his overlate and pernicious complaiſance, though perhaps he thence ſtudied to transfer upon the other all public reſentment and hate. For the reſt of the Chiefs; by judging the war to be completed, they rendered the end of it the more ſignal and glaring. Nor indeed had Petilius Cerialis made ſufficient diſpatch, he who was purpoſely ſent forward with a thouſand horſe, by an indirect march over the Sabine territories, to enter Rome through the Salarian highway. At laſt, the news that the Capitol was beſieged, rouſed them all.

Antonius advanced along the great Flaminian road, and far in the night arrived at the red rocks: But the aid which he intended came too late. He there met many tidings all very mournful, 'Sabi-
'nus murdered, the Capitol reduced to aſhes, the
'City under dreadful conſternation, nay, the po-
'pulace and ſlaves all under arms for Vitellius.' Petilius Cerialis alſo was unfortunate in the combat attempted by his horſe, who, ruſhing incautiouſly upon the foe, as upon men already defeated, were received by the Vitellians ſteadily, with their foot interlined amongſt their horſe. Not far from the City the conflict happened, amongſt buildings

and

and gardens, and winding-lanes; a situation familiar to the Vitellians, but strange to their enemies, and thence the cause of their perplexity and fear. Neither was the body of horse unanimously affected, as amongst them were incorporated some who had lately surrendered at Narnia, and now warily watched for what side fortune would ultimately declare. Tullius Flavianus Commander of a Squadron was taken. The rest suffered a scandalous rout, flying in unmanly dismay. The vanquishers pursued not beyond Fidenæ.

By this success the former zeal and partiality of the people became heightened. The commonalty of Rome betook themselves to arms; some few were furnished with regular shields, but the most part snatched up and turned into weapons whatever fell first in their way, and then craved the signal for battle. Vitellius presented them his thanks, and ordered them to sally forth and defend the City from insults and attacks. Anon the Senate was assembled, and Ambassadors nominated for repairing to the armies, such as under the stile and guise of the Commonweal, were to exhort them to peace and union. Very different proved the lot and reception of the Ambassadors: They who went to Petilius Cerialis encountered perils almost fatal, as the soldiers sternly rejected all terms of peace. Nay, the Prætor Arulenus Rusticus was wounded; a barbarity which, beside the violation of a character altogether sacred, that of an Ambassador and of a Prætor, derived fresh abhorrence from the dignity and estimation of the man. His followers dispersed and fled: His principal Lictor was slain for daring to open a passage through the crowd: and had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by the chief officer, such was the brutal rage inspired by our civil dissentions, that the Law and Privilege of Ambassadors, esteemed inviolable even amongst foreign

foreign and barbarous Nations, had been profaned, even to the maſſacring of their perſons, in the midſt of their native country and under the very walls of Rome. With more temper were they received who had gone to Antonius: Not that the ſoldiers had greater moderation, but the General greater authority.

With the Ambaſſadors had joined himſelf, Muſonius Rufus, by rank a Roman Knight, one who attended to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and adhered to the doctrine of the Stoics. He mingling amongſt the bands, and reaſoning about the bleſſings of peace and the dangers attending war, laboured thus to tutor men in arms. To many this was matter of deriſion; to more it proved annoying and tireſome: Nor were there wanting ſome to thruſt him thence violently and to puſh him with their hands and feet, till through the perſuaſions of all the more moderate, and the menaces of others, he forbore his leſſons of wiſdom ſo ill-timed. Thither too had repaired the Veſtal Virgins with letters from Vitellius to Antonius: In theſe he deſired, 'That the battle, 'which was to be the laſt, might be ſuſpended for 'one day; during that interval, all things would 'be more eaſily accommodated.' The Virgins were diſmiſſed with all demonſtrations of honour. To Vitellius an anſwer was returned, 'That by the 'murder of Sabinus, and the burning of the Ca-'pitol, all means of ending the war by treaty were 'cut off.'

Antonius, however, by a ſpeech to the Legions purpoſely aſſembled, tried to reconcile them to a temper, that 'of encamping by the Milvian bridge, 'and of entring the City not before next day.' His motive for ſuch procraſtination was, leſt the ſoldiery juſt after the heat of a battle, might be ſo tranſported as to ſhew no mercy either to People, or Senate, or even to the Temples and Domes of the

the Deities. But they dreaded all delay, as the means to bereave them of victory. At the same time some Standards seen shining upon the hills, though only followed by the weak and unwarlike populace, exhibited the appearance of the enemy's army. Presently they advanced to Rome, divided into a triple host: one passed along where it already was, upon the great Flaminian road; another coasted the Tiber; the third through the Salarian way moved towards the gate Collina. The multitude of Plebeians was forthwith routed by an onset of the horse. The soldiers of Vitellius moved to the attack, formed likewise into a threefold band. Many were the conflicts before the City, various the success, but to Vespasian's men chiefly favourable, as superiour in the abilities of their Leaders. Sorely harrassed were they only who had wheeled to the left hand towards the Sallustian gardens, through lanes very narrow and slippery, where over them stood the Vitellians upon the walls of the gardens, and as they strove to climb, beat them down with stones and spears, almost to the close of the day, till by the horse who had burst in at the gate Collina, they were themselves beset in the rear. In the field of Mars too the parties joined in fierce encounters. For that of Vespasian appeared the concurrence of fortune, and of victory so often gained. The Vitellians were fired and driven headlong by pure despair, and though vanquished and routed, assembled again within the City and renewed the battle.

About the combatants the people were gathered as spectators; and, as if they had been only attending the representation of a fight exhibited for public amusement and sport, they favoured and espoused now these, anon those, with theatrical shouts and clappings: Nay, as often as either side recoiled, and particulars had fled into houses, or lay

lay hid in ſhops, they inſiſted upon their being dragged out and ſlain, and thus came to enjoy themſelves the largeſt part of the prey. For, whilſt the ſoldiers were only purſuing blood and ſlaughter, the ſpoil fell to the poſſeſſion of the commonalty. Tragical and ghaſtly was the face of the whole City; in one place deadly conflicts, and bleeding wounds; in another luxurious bathings and feats of riot; every where blood in ſtreams, and carcaſſes in piles, and juſt at hand wanton harlots, or ſuch as reſembled harlots; acts of debauchery and voluptuouſneſs, as extravagant as ever were practiſed during a ſeaſon of luxury and repoſe, with all the barbarities attending the moſt mercileſs captivity. Inſomuch, that you would have thought the ſame City at once tranſported with brutal outrage, and abandoned to ſenſual revellings. Rome had before ſeen contending armies in her ſtreets, where Sylla twice remained conqueror, and once Cinna; nor was there then leſs cruelty exerciſed. But now, amongſt men there prevailed an unconcern and ſecurity perfectly inhuman, nor for a ſingle moment were their purſuits of pleaſure poſtponed. Nay, as if this confuſion and carnage had ſeaſonably intervened to heighten the gayety of their feſtival days, they exulted, they pampered and indulged, to both parties indifferent, and triumphing in public miſeries.

In ſtorming the intrenchments of the Camp the hardeſt taſk was found, as they were defended by all the moſt determined amongſt the enemy, ſuch who conſidered the ſame as their laſt hope and reſource. Hence the more ardour manifeſted by the conquerors, as amongſt them foremoſt in zeal were the old Prætorian Cohorts. All the inventions uſed in attacking the ſtrongeſt Cities, they now applied, the military Shell, miſſive Engines, Mounds and flaming Torches. 'In this ſingle undertaking 'they

'they all cried, would be completed whatever 'hardſhips, whatever perils they had in ſo many 'battles undergone. To the Senate and People of 'Rome their City was reſtored, to the Deities 'their Temples. It was in the camp that the pe-'culiar lot and glory of the ſoldiery reſided: This 'was their Country, here was their houſhold and 'their houſhold Gods. Theſe they were now in-'ſtantly to regain, or to paſs the night under arms.' The Vitellians, on the contrary, though in number inferior, though unequal in their deſtiny, perplexed the victory, and retarded the pacification. With blood they contaminated the houſes, with blood they profaned the altars, purſuing ſuch feats as prove the laſt ſolacements to men deſperate and vanquiſhed. Upon the turrets and bulwarks many lay breathing their laſt, many already breathleſs. They who remained, when their gates were burſt open, uniting together, preſented themſelves confidently to the ſwords of the vanquiſhers. In truth they all fell facing the enemy, and wounded only before. Such, even in dying, was their concern to die honourably.

Vitellius, ſeeing the City taken, was carried in a chair through the back part of the palace to his wife's houſe upon Mount Aventine, with a purpoſe if he could by lurking there eſcape diſcovery during the day, to fly by night to his brother's Cohorts at Tarracina. But from unſteadineſs of ſpirit, ſuch too being the nature of dread, that to one who fears all things, preſent things are ever moſt irkſome, he came back to the palace now deſolate and wild: For all his ſlaves, even the loweſt, had ſlipped away, or elſe carefully avoided to meet him. Terrifying to him proved the diſmal ſolitude, and every part ſtill and ſilent: He tried apartments that were ſhut: He ſhrunk with horror to behold all void and deſart. Weary at laſt with ſuch miſerable

ſerable and ſolitary wandering to and fro, he thruſt himſelf into a hiding place ſordid and diſgraceful, and by Julius Placidus, Tribune of a Prætorian Band, was dragged from it. Behind him forthwith his hands were tied: Thus with his apparel all rent, he was haled along, a ſpectacle foul and ſad, many reviling him, no one bewailing him. Indeed ſuch was the abaſement and indecency of his end, as to have baniſhed all pity. There met him one of the German ſoldiers, and with his ſword drawn made a violent blow, whether out of fury and vengeance, or the ſooner to releaſe him from inſults and deriſion, or whether aiming at the life of the Tribune, is matter of uncertainty. The Tribune's ear he actually cut off, and was himſelf inſtantly ſlain. Vitellius they forced, with their ſwords pointed at his throat, now to hold up his head, and preſent his face to a deluge of indignities, anon to behold his own Statues tumbled down, and particularly to view the place of aſſemblies, and that where Galba ſuffered his bloody doom. In this manner they puſhed him forward, and at laſt into the charnel of Malefactors, where the corps of Flavius Sabinus had lain expoſed. One ſaying there was which fell from him, ſavouring of no baſeneſs of ſpirit; when to the Tribune treating him with roughneſs and inſults, he anſwered, 'That nevertheleſs he 'had been his Emperor.' Then, under many wounds given him, he fell and expired. The common herd inveighed againſt him, after he was ſlain, with the ſame depravity of heart with which they had careſſed him while he yet lived.

His father was Lucius Vitellius, his age that of ſeven and fifty years complete. He had acquired the Conſulſhip, acquired Pontifical dignities, with a name and rank amongſt the Grandees of the State, by no parts or vigour of his, but all through the luſtre and elevation of his father. The gift of

Empire

Empire he received from ſuch as never knew the man. In the hearts of the ſoldiers rarely had any man ever obtained ſuch intereſt by worthy methods, as he by impotence and ſloth. In him however was inherent a ſimplicity of ſpirit and liberality; qualities which, unleſs kept under reſtriction, grow inevitably pernicious. His friends he thought to ſecure, not by a conduct ſteady and unblameable, but only by mighty bounty, and thence rather deſerved ſuch, than had them. For the intereſt of the Commonwealth without doubt it was that Vitellius was vanquiſhed and fallen: Yet they who betrayed to Veſpaſian the power and cauſe of Vitellius, can from their perfidiouſneſs claim no public merit, ſince they had before revolted from Galba. The day now haſtening to cloſe, the Senate could not be aſſembled; for ſuch was the affright of the Magiſtrates and Senators, that they had privately dropped away from the City, or concealed themſelves here and there in the houſes of their followers. Domitian, after all apprehenſions of hoſtility had ceaſed, proceeded to the Leaders of the party, where the ſoldiers thronging about him ſaluted him Cæſar, and all in arms conducted him to his father's houſe.

THE

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

The SUMMARY.

The calamitous condition of Rome. Lucius Vitellius *surrenders his person and his bands, yet is slain. The Sovereignty of* Vespasian *confirmed by the Senate. The fine character and accomplishments of* Helvidius Priscus. *His contests with* Eprius Marcellus. Mucianus *enters Rome. By him* Calpurnius Piso *is ordered to be slain. The causes and motions of the war in Germany, first begun by the Batavians under the leading of* Civilis. *Next the Caninefates take arms. They demolish the Fortresses of the Romans, cut off the Garrisons, overthrow* Aquilius *a principal Centurion, and afterwards* Lupercus Mummius *Commander of a Legion. The Veteran Cohorts of Batavians in the service of the Romans, go over to* Civilis, *and rout* Herennius Gallus *striving to oppose them. The ancient Camp besieged by*

Civilis. *The Roman ſoldiers mutiny againſt* Hordeonius: *the conduct of the war committed to* Vocula. *He advances againſt* Civilis, *is at firſt vanquiſhed, yet by an accident gains the Victory. Again the ſoldiers mutiny againſt* Hordeonius; *nay, murder him. Tranſactions at Rome, and in the Senate: Conteſts: Accuſations. The ſoldiers of* Vitellius *pacified by* Mucianus. *The aſſaſſination of* Lucius Piſo *in Africa. The Capitol reſtored. The Treverians and Lingones revolt from the Romans: The other Gauls too waver: Small fidelity even in the Legions and Roman Cohorts, all corrupted by the Gauls.* Vocula *ſlain. The Roman ſoldiers ſwear allegiance to the Empire of the Gauls. The ſame do the Legions, after a long ſiege ſuſtained in the old camp. The people of Cologn not ſlow to eſpouſe the conquering cauſe. The Lingones the while routed by the Sequanians. At Rome the Empire judged in danger:* Domitian *the Emperor's ſon prepares to ſuſtain the war in perſon, aſſiſted by* Mucianus, *four Legions forthwith ſent forward. The Gauls aſſemble in council: The wiſer ſort declare for peace however clogged with bondage.* Petilius Cerialis *vanquiſhes the Treverians in a great battle. Many who had revolted return to the ſervice and ſtandards of the Romans.* Cerialis *ſoon after engaged in a ſharp conflict with* Civilis *and* Claſſicus; *the beginning of the combat doubtful, the iſſue ſucceſsful to the Romans. What happened to* Veſpaſian *in Egypt, his miracles there: His Sovereignty ſignified by oracles and preſages.*

Theſe the proceedings partly of the ſame year, partly of the next.

UPON the ſlaying of Vitellius, war was rather ſeen to ceaſe than peace to commence. The vanquiſhers continuing in arms, hunted all over the City after the vanquiſhed with eagerneſs

neſs and implacable hate. Filled with carnage and mangled coarſes were the ſtreets; dyed and ſtreaming with blood were the Temples and places of public reſort, as in them were butchered all whom chance preſented to the deſtroying ſword. Nay, anon, this lawleſs violence increaſing, they ſearched private houſes, and dragged forth ſuch as lay hid. Where they beheld any one remarkably tall and in the prime of years, him they murdered without exception, whether he were ſoldier or citizen. This cruelty, which, during the freſh impulſe of animoſity and rancour, glutted itſelf with blood and killing, was afterwards transformed into rapaciouſneſs. No place would they ſuffer to remain private, no part ſhut up, pretending that there ſome Vitellians were concealed. The beginning this of forcing open houſes, or a ſure ground for committing murder where-ever oppoſition was made. Nor did the indigent part of the populace fail to aſſiſt in the general violence, and ſpoil. The moſt villainous amongſt the ſlaves were even forward to betray their wealthy Lords; others were expoſed by their particular friends. On all hands were uttered bitter wailings and the univerſal voice of anguiſh, on all hands ſeen no other than the miſerable lot of a City ſtormed and ſacked: Inſomuch that the ſoldiers of Otho and thoſe of Vitellius, however imperious and inſulting, and however once hated, were now miſſed and regretted. The Generals of the party, men ſo puiſſant and vigorous in kindling the Civil War, were found inſufficient to controul the ſpirit of victory. For, in exciting public tumults and convulſions, every the worſt man has the ſtrongeſt ſway: To uphold tranquillity and peace, righteous deſigns are required and virtuous management.

The name and reſidence of Cæſar, Domitian enjoyed, but to the cares of government gave yet no attention; and only in feats of adultery and con-

ſtupration acquitted himſelf as the ſon of an Emperor. With the command of the Prætorian Guards Arrius Varus was inveſted. The ſupreme exerciſe and ſprings of authority reſted in Antonius Primus. From the Prince's houſe he was continually plundering treaſure, moveables, and domeſtic ſlaves, as if he were ſtill ſeizing the ſpoil of Cremona. The reſt, whether checked by their modeſty or their meanneſs, as they had merited no diſtinction in the war, were likewiſe undiſtinguiſhed by rewards. The City under great awe and terror, and quietly diſpoſed to ſervitude, preſſed 'to have Lucius Vitel-' lius ſeized with his Cohorts upon their march from ' Terracina, and the remains of the war extin-' guiſhed.' Hence the cavalry were ſent forward to Aricia: The body of the Legions reſted at the Town of Bovillæ. Nor did Vitellius pauſe a moment, but to the pleaſure of the conqueror delivered up himſelf and his bands. His men too caſt away their unfortunate arms, moved as much by indignation as by fear. Through the City paſſed the long train of captives guarded on each ſide by files of armed men: Not one betrayed a relenting or ſupplicant look. Grieved and vengeful they appeared, and to all the boiſterous inſults and deriſion of the mocking and petulant vulgar, ſhewed themſelves ſcornful and unmoved. The few who broke forth upon the rabble, were oppreſſed by the guards, the reſt impriſoned. From none of them fell a mean or degenerate expreſſion; and though environed with wretchedneſs and diſtreſs, they maintained the renown of their conſtancy and courage, unſtained. Next was put to death Lucius Vitellius, one in vices equal to his brother; in his brother's reign the more vigilant of the two, nor ſo much a companion in the ſunſhine of his fortune, as ſwallowed headlong in his tragical fate.

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During the ſame time Lucilius Baſſus was diſpatched with a band of horſe lightly equipped, to eſtabliſh the tranquillity of Campania, as amongſt the municipal Cities prevailed a ſpirit of animoſity and contention, more in truth upon mutual diſguſts than through any diſaffection and contumacy towards the Emperor. Upon ſight of the ſoldiers, preſent compoſure enſued; nor upon the ſmaller Colonies for their late oppoſition was any puniſhment inflicted. Capua was aſſigned to the third Legion for winter-quarters, and thence grievouſly oppreſſed were the illuſtrious families there. Yet to the people of Terracina ſo lately ſacked by the Vitellians, no help was adminiſtered or relief. So much ſtronger is the bent of men to revenge an injury than to repay a benefit, becauſe obligations are burdenſome and painful; but vengeance taken ſeems to be ſomething gained. Some conſolation it proved, that the ſlave of Virgilius Capito, he whom I have mentioned to have betrayed their city to the enemy, was now faſtened to a gibbet, dreſſed in the ſame rings which as a recompence from Vitellius he always wore. Now at Rome, the Senate decreed to Veſpaſian all the titles and prerogatives ever inveſted in former Princes, with great alacrity and hopes aſſured. For, as the civil arms were firſt wielded in the Regions of Gaul and Spain; as Germany too engaged in the war, and anon Illyricum; as the ſame civil arms had afterwards viſited Ægypt, Judæa, and Syria, nay, all the Provinces and all the Armies; it ſeemed to the Fathers that, the whole world having thus undergone expiation, all diſſentions were brought to a natural cloſe. To heighten their joy they had letters from Veſpaſian, ſo conceived as if the war had yet ſubſiſted. This was the conſtruction which at firſt view they ſeemed to bear: Yet in them he uſed the ſtile of an Emperor, but choſe expreſſions

full of courteſy when he mentioned himſelf, full of dignity when he mentioned the Commonwealth. Nor was the Senate wanting in acts of duty and obſequiouſneſs. To himſelf with his ſon Titus for Collegue the Conſulſhip was forthwith decreed; to Domitian the Prætorſhip and Conſular authority.

To the Senate Mucianus too had ſent letters, and thence furniſhed ground for obſervation and diſcourſe. 'If he were indeed a private man, why 'did he aſſume the part of a public character in 'addreſſing himſelf to the Senate? In a few days 'he might have had an opportunity of propoſing the 'ſame things from his place amongſt the Senators.' Even his invectives againſt Vitellius were judged over-late, and unworthy of paſſing for bold and free. But big with haughtineſs towards the Commonwealth, big with contumely towards the Emperor, was what he boaſted, 'That in his own 'hands he had had the Empire, and freely beſtowed 'it upon Veſpaſian.' But in privacy they ſmothered this their indignation and hate, whilſt to the man their ſycophancy was public and glaring. With many ſtrains of eloquence very lofty and very honourable, they aſſigned him the decorations of triumph, in reality for his conduct in the civil Wars; but his expedition againſt the Sarmatians ſerved for the pretence. There followed more grants of honours, the Conſular ornaments preſented to Primus Antonius, and to Cornelius Fuſcus and Arrius Varus thoſe of the Prætorſhip. Thereafter they turned their deliberations towards the Deities; hence was determined the rebuilding of the Capitol. And all theſe decrees aroſe from the propoſitions and reaſoning of Valerius Aſiaticus Conſul elect. The reſt aſſented by motions of their head and hand; as did ſome few ſignal in place, or of parts well trained in flights of flattery, by elaborate ſpeeches purpoſely framed. When to Helvidius Priſcus, Prætor elect,

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it came to ſpeak his ſentiments, he propoſed ſuch as upon a good Prince reflected much reverence and honour, ſuch too as were void of all falſe court and inſincerity; and by the Senate he was extolled with affectionate praiſes. Indeed this proved a very ſignal day to him, the beginning of mighty offence given, and of mighty glory earned.

Since I am here again led to name a man whom henceforward I muſt frequently mention, it ſeems incumbent upon me ſhortly to recount his courſe of life and purſuits, and what fortune befel him. Helvidius Priſcus was born in the municipal City of Terracina within the firſt precinct of Italy, the ſon of Cluvius who had ſuſtained the rank of a principal Centurion. His bright and ſignal parts he wholly applied, whilſt yet very young, to ſtudies of the more noble kind; not as many do, to diſguiſe ſpiritleſs indolence under a pompous name, but, in order to engage in the public adminiſtration with a mind thoroughly fortified againſt all contingencies and diſaſters. He adhered to ſuch Philoſophers as maintain that only things juſt are good, that nought is evil ſave what is diſhoneſt, and in the rank of things neither evil nor good, place nobility, power, and all other acquirements which depend not upon the ſoul. Ere he had riſen higher than the Quæſtorſhip, he was by Thraſea Pætus choſen for a huſband to his daughter: Nor from the character of his wife's father did he copy aught ſo ſtudiouſly as his undaunted exerciſe of liberty. As Citizen, as Senator, Huſband, Son-in-law, and Friend, in all the offices of life, ſignal was his uprightneſs and equanimity, ever contemning wealth, ever unmoveable from righteous judgment, never to be ſhaken by fear. There were ſome to whom he ſeemed over ſollicitous for fame; though the thirſt of glory be ſuch a paſſion as even wiſe men reſign laſt. Upon the deadly doom of his father-in-law,

he was driven into exile, and returning in the reign of Galba, set himself to implead Eprius Marcellus, the accuser of Thrasea. The pursuit of this vengeance, though it is uncertain whether it were more daring or more just, rent the Senate into heats and contests. For, were Marcellus suffered to fall, the band of accusers were at once overwhelmed. At first the struggle between them proceeded with notable vehemence, and was by both signalized with excellent speeches. Anon as the inclinations of Galba were in suspence, and upon the interposition of many Senators with entreaties, Priscus dropped the process. Whence ensued various censures and discourse, according to the different humours of men, some magnifying his moderation, some charging him with want of vigour and firmness. But, upon the day when the Senate had under consideration the Sovereignty of Vespasian, as it was agreed to send Ambassadors to the Prince; upon this subject between Helvidius and Eprius, a bitter debate arose. Priscus insisted that they should be nominated by the Magistrates, first solemnly sworn; Marcellus, that they should be drawn by lot, the method already proposed by the Consul elect. But what in reality prompted Marcellus to such sollicitude, was the apprehension of disgrace to himself, lest, were others nominated, he should be thought slighted and postponed. By degrees, from interchanging sharp words, they were carried into continued speeches full of asperity.

Helvidius desired to know, 'Why Marcellus so 'much dreaded the judgment of the Magistrates? 'He was master of wealth and of eloquence, nay, 'in the measure of both surpassed many others: 'unless he were perhaps urged and daunted by the 'memory and blackness of his crimes. By the use 'of blind lots and the urn no distinction could be 'made between the manners and characters of men.

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'The way of suffrages and of consulting the sentiments of the Senate, was purposely devised for 'searching the life and reputation of particulars. 'To the interest and well-being of the Commonwealth it appertained, it appertained to the honour of Vespasian, that to compliment him there 'should be sent men of the clearest innocence in 'the Senate, such as with virtuous reasoning and 'discourse might season the Prince's ears. With 'Thrasea, with Soranus and Sentius, Vespasian had 'entertained personal intimacy and friendship: And 'their accusers, though it seemed they must not be 'punished, yet ought not to be presented under the 'pomp of a public character. By the judgment 'of the Senate thus manifested the Prince would 'be as it were advised and warned, whom to fear 'and shun, whom to countenance and approve. 'No greater support was there of a righteous reign 'than righteous friends about the person reigning. 'It ought to suffice Marcellus that he had instigated 'Nero to murder so many innocents. Let him 'even enjoy the rewards of his services, and his 'exemption from punishment: Only let him leave 'Vespasian to more worthy advisers.'

Marcellus alledged, 'That it was no proposition 'of his which was thus warmly combated, but 'what had been proposed by the Consul elect, in 'pursuance of ancient precedents, which had left 'the election of Ambassadors to the decision of 'lots; so as for caballing and the efforts of per-'sonal enmities, no place might remain. No new 'cause had occurred, why institutions framed of 'old should be abandoned to disuse, nor why the 'honour intended for the Prince should be turned 'to any man's contumely and disgrace. For pay-'ing the homage designed, every man there was 'qualified. What they ought to be more sollicit-'ous to avoid, was left through the unrelenting

'ſtiffneſs of ſome certain particulars, his ſpirit might 'be incenſed, whilſt in his new Sovereignty he was 'yet poſſeſſed with doubts and apprehenſions, and 'warily watching even the expreſſions and looks of 'all men. For himſelf; he conſidered the temper 'of the times in which he was born, as alſo the 'frame of adminiſtration inſtituted by our fathers 'and grandfathers. The primitive inſtitution he 'admired; to the preſent ſettlement he adhered. 'For the bleſſing of good princes he beſtowed 'wiſhes and vows; to princes good or bad he ſub-'mitted. It was not more through any pleading 'of his that Thraſea ſuffered, than through the 'judgment of the Senate paſſed upon him. With 'ſuch mock diſplays of law was the cruelty of Ne-'ro wont to ſport itſelf. Nor ſmaller anguiſh had 'he himſelf undergone from a friendſhip ſo dan-'gerous, than had others from a ſtate of exile. 'To conclude, he conſented that Helvidius ſhould 'be equalled even to the Cato's and Brutus's, in 'conſtancy invincible, in courage not to be daunted. 'He himſelf aſſumed to be no more than one of 'that Senate who had all as well as he yielded hum-'ble obedience to lordly power. He would even 'perſuade Priſcus, that he would not be towering 'above the Emperor, would not ſtrive by his pre-'cepts and documents to reſtrain Veſpaſian, an an-'cient man, long ſince diſtinguiſhed with triumphal honours, and the father of ſons already men. 'As the worſt princes ſought might without limits 'or law; to the other ſort too, however excellent 'they proved, a meaſure and limitation in the ex-'erciſe of liberty was always well pleaſing.' Theſe reaſonings, defended and oppoſed with mighty ardour and earneſtneſs on both ſides, were heard by the Fathers with inclinations divided. Prevalent however proved the party who preferred the method of lots, ſince even ſuch Senators as had ob-

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ſerved a neutrality, contended for retaining the ancient uſage. Moreover every particular Grandee, ſignal in figure and elevation, leaned to the ſame courſe, from dread of envy ſhould they themſelves be choſen by the other.

There enſued another conteſt. The Prætors of the Treaſury (for then the Treaſury was adminiſtered by Prætors) complaining of the Poverty of the State, demanded that a retrenchment might be made in the public expences. The conſul elect propoſed to have the regulation of this reſerved for the Emperor; ſo mighty he thought the taſk, ſo difficult the remedies. Helvidius declared for having it tranſacted by the option and controulment of the Senate. Already the Conſuls were gathering the opinions of the Senators, when Vulcatius Tertullinus Tribune of the people, interpoſed his authority, 'againſt making any ordinance about a 'matter ſo momentous in the abſence of the Prince.' Helvidius had moved that the Capitol ſhould be rebuilt by the Roman State, with the aſſiſtance of Veſpaſian; a motion which all the moſt modeſt Senators paſſed then over in ſilence, and afterwards forgot. There were ſome too who carefully remembered it.

Then fell Muſonius Rufus upon Publius Celer, with a violent charge, accuſing him 'of having by 'falſe teſtimony procured the doom of Barea So-'ranus.' The Senate thought that by this proceſs would be revived the hate and rancour attending the proſecution of the accuſers: Yet ſo guilty and vile was the perſon accuſed, that it was impoſſible to ſave him. For dear and adored was the memory of Soranus; and Celer was known to have made profeſſion of Philoſophy and wiſdom, then to have become witneſs againſt Barea, a traitor to his friend, an inſtrument to deſtroy one whom he pretended to inſtruct. For the trial was appointed the next day

that the Senate met. Nor was it now so much Musonius or Publius that created expectation and impatience, as Priscus and Marcellus and the rest: So intent were the minds of men to see vengeance pursued.

Such was the situation of things; amongst the Fathers factions and strife, the party vanquished full of rage, the vanquishers void of all authority, the City bereft of laws, bereft of the Emperor's presence, when Mucianus arrived in Rome, and in a moment drew to himself the universal sway. Quite sunk was the power of Antonius and of Arrius Varus; for but ill-dissembled was his animosity towards them, though by his looks he studied to hide it. But the City, always of notable sagacity in diving into disgusts, had already turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herself to the new minion. To him alone court was paid; only to him all suit was made. Neither was he wanting to his own grandeur: In great state he removed from seat to seat, and shifted from one pleasant garden to another, always encompassed with an armed host. Such was his magnificence and equipage, such the pomp and solemnity of his port abroad, and such the guards at his gate, that he grasped all the essence and terrours of Sovereignty: The name he forbore. Mighty and general was the dread which accompanied the bloody doom inflicted upon Calpurnius Galerianus. He was the son of Caius Piso, and had never offered to disturb the State. But from his name and race so illustrious and ancient, and from his own person graceful and young, in the pratings of the commonalty he had gained a reputation very popular and admired. Moreover, as the City continued still agitated and unquiet, and thence pleased with all new rumours, there were some who in absurd conjectures were investing him with the Imperial Diadem. By order of Mucianus

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he was committed to the cuſtody of a band of ſoldiers; and leſt his death ſhould miniſter more obſervation, were he executed in the eye of the City, he was ſent forty miles thence, along the great Appian Road, and, upon cutting his veins, periſhed by an effuſion of blood. Julius Priſcus, Captain of the Prætorian Guards under Vitellius, ſlew himſelf, preſſed to it rather by ſhame than any neceſſity. Alphenus Varus, however guilty of daſtardly conduct, and branded with infamy, continued to ſurvive. Aſiaticus too the Freedman by ſuffering the death of a ſlave, atoned for his late wicked ſway.

During the ſame conjuncture, the report of our defeat in Germay filled the City, yet afflicted it in no degree. 'Of our armies ſlaughtered; of the 'winter encampments of the Legions, taken and 'poſſeſſed by the enemy; of the revolt of all the 'nations of Gaul;' people diſcourſed as matter of news only, not as calamities. From what ſource and motives that war proceeded, with what mighty combuſtion it raged amongſt ſtrange nations and thoſe of our allies, I ſhall here deduce and explain. The Batavians, whilſt they dwelt beyond the Rhine, were a part of the Cattians, and, when driven thence by a domeſtic inſurrection, ſat down upon the extreme borders of Gaul, ſuch as they found deſtitute of inhabitants, as alſo upon an iſland ſituated between the mouths of the Rhine, waſhed before by the Ocean, behind and on either ſide by the River. Neither, in leaguing with the Romans, did they find themſelves oppreſſed or exhauſted by thoſe their allies however more potent, nor ſerved they the Empire in aught ſave men and arms; and they were long occupied in the wars of Germany. Soon after their military renown became augmented in Britain, whither were tranſported ſome of their bands of infantry, conducted, according to old and conſtant uſage, by men of the firſt rank amongſt them.

them. At home too they retained a body of ſelect horſe, ſignal for their exerciſe and dexterity in ſwimming, ſo as to croſs the Rhine in troops complete, armed and mounted in the ſtream.

Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis, men of royal deſcent, greatly ſurpaſſed the reſt in credit and quality. Paulus was ſlain by Fonteius Capito, who falſly charged him with rebellion. Upon Civilis irons were put, and he ſent to Nero; by Galba he was declared innocent and releaſed; again under Vitellius he incurred capital danger, for that the army importunately craved his execution. Hence the riſe of his anger and vengeance; and hence his hopes, founded upon our misfortunes. But Civilis, who had a ſpirit more able and politic than uſual to Barbarians, aſſumed to be another Sertorius or Hannibal, bearing in his viſage a mark of deformity like theirs; and, leſt our arms might be turned againſt him as a public enemy, ſhould he once appear to have revolted from the Roman people, he pretended an attachment to Veſpaſian, and to eſpouſe his cauſe with zeal. It is certain, that by letters ſent him from Antonius Primus, he was ordered 'to ſtop and drive back the forces ſummoned to 'ſuccour Vitellius; and under colour of the in-'ſurrection in Germany, to withhold the Legions 'from removing.' The ſame caution and directions had Hordeonius Flaccus given in perſon to Civilis, from a mind well diſpoſed towards Veſpaſian, and in tenderneſs to the Commonweal, upon which preſent deſtruction was ſurely falling, were the war renewed, and ſo many thouſand armed men poured into Italy.

Civilis therefore utterly bent to rebel, yet meaning to ſmother for the preſent his main drift, and in the mean while to adjuſt all his meaſures by the courſe of events, began on this wiſe to introduce the public change intended. By the orders of Vitellius,

tellius, the flower of the Batavian youth were called together to be liſted ſoldiers; a thing in its own natural tendency very grievous, yet aggravated and imbittered by the behaviour of the agents employed, men abandoned to rapine and debauchery. For the muſter they ſingled out the ancient and infirm, purpoſely to have a reward for diſcharging them: Again, ſuch as were of unripe years, but in their perſons lovely (and, in truth, moſt of their young men are goodly and tall) they haled away to ſuffer pollution repugnant to nature. Hence enſued much bitterneſs and hate: The miniſters alſo of ſedition, men purpoſely tutored and prepared, urged the people to refuſe being enrolled. Civilis, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, aſſembled the chiefs of the nation and the moſt daring amongſt the populace, in a ſacred grove; where, when they had rejoiced and carouſed till far in the night, and he perceived them now warm and bold, he began an harangue, firſt diſplaying the praiſes and renown of their nation; then proceeded to enumerate the inſults, the acts of oppreſſion and violence, and all the miſeries attending upon a ſtate of ſervitude. 'For that in 'truth they were no longer held as confederates, 'but treated like bond-ſlaves. The coming of an 'Imperial Lieutenant, however oppreſſive and bur-'denſome his retinue, however terrible and impe-'rious his authority, was but a light grievance. 'The Batavians were ſurrendered to the rule and 'luſt of ſmall officers, Captains and Centurions. 'Nay, theſe as ſoon as glutted with their blood 'and ſpoils, were changed; other devourers with 'empty bowels ſearched out, and new titles for 'plundering were deviſed, various and many. Over 'their heads at preſent hung the injunction to fur-'niſh ſoldiers; whence children would be rent from 'their parents, brothers from brothers, as it were 'by a laſt parting for ever. At no time had the

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'Roman State been more ſhaken and diſtreſſed, nor 'in their winter entrenchments was aught elſe to 'be found but ſtore of ſpoil laid up, and men 'feeble and old. They ſhould only lift up their 'eyes, nor dread the empty names and ſhadows of 'Legions. They themſelves were maſters of power-'ful forces, foot and horſe; the Germans were 'their kinſmen; the Gauls had the ſame wiſhes 'and aim. Nor even to the Romans would this 'war prove diſpleaſing; and whatever croſs events 'it produced, the Batavians would of courſe put 'to account of Veſpaſian. If it ſucceeded, of vic-'tory no account was ever to be rendered.'

As with mighty concurrence he was heard, he bound them all in a combination, ſolemnized with barbarous uſages, with maledictions and imprecations peculiar to the country. To the people Caninefates emiſſaries were ſent, to engage them in the ſame cauſe and aſſociation. This nation enjoys part of the iſland, in their original and language the ſame with the Batavians, equal too in bravery, in number fewer. Anon, by ſecret inter-agents he ſuborned the Batavian Cohorts, once Auxiliaries in Britain, then ſent into Germany, as above I have recounted, and now abiding at Magontiacum. Amongſt the Caninefates, ſignal for brutal bravery was Brinno, in his deſcent ſplendid and illuſtrious. His father, after many hoſtilities and exploits againſt the Romans, contemned with impunity the ridiculous expeditions undertaken by Caligula to ſuppreſs him. So that the very name and merit of a family ſo rebellious recommended the ſon, who being placed upon a ſhield, according to the cuſtom of the nation, and elevated in proceſſion upon the ſhoulders of men, was choſen their Leader. He forthwith, joined by the Friſians, a people beyond the Rhine now called in to ſuccour him, paſſing by ſea forced the winter encampment of two Cohorts, an acquiſition

ſition which lay neareſt to be made. Neither did our ſoldiers foreſee the ſudden aſſault, nor if they had foreſeen it, were they of force ſufficient to have repelled it. The Camp therefore was taken and plundered. The foe next diſcharged their rage upon the victuallers and Roman traders, men, as ſecure of peace, confidently rambling abroad. They were alſo ready to have ſtormed and ſacked the ſtrong holds, which, ſince they could not be defended, were by the Captains of the Cohorts burnt down. Into the upper part of the iſland were drawn together the Enſigns and Banners, and remnant of men, under the command of Aquilius a principal Centurion, and furniſhed the name of an army much rather than the ſtrength. For, Vitellius having withdrawn from the Cohorts their prime force, had, to recruit them, encumbered with a burden of arms a ſpiritleſs crowd drawn from the next villages of the Nervians and Germans.

Civilis, who thought it behoved him to cover all his meaſures with profound guile, even upbraided the Captains, 'for having abandoned their Forts. 'He himſelf, he ſaid, would ſoon ſuppreſs the in-'ſurrection of the Caninefates, with no other power 'than the Cohort which he commanded. They, 'the reſt of the Officers, ought again to repair 'inſtantly to their ſeveral quarters.' That under this counſel fraud lurked, ſince the Cohorts, were they ſeparated, would be the eaſier overwhelmed, and that this war was headed not by Brinno but Civilis, was apparent, as from the Germans diſcoveries were by little and little breaking out, ſuch as that people, ever delighted with war, could not long ſmother. When from theſe his wiles no ſucceſs enſued, he had recourſe to open violence; and, of the Caninefates, the Frizians, and the Batavians, compoſed three diſtinct hoſts, each formed ſharp in the front. The oppoſite army was embattled not far from the Rhine,

Rhine, and againſt the enemy too were ranged the ſhips, which, having fired their forts, they had conducted thither. Nor had the encounter held long ere a band of Tungrians went over with Enſigns diſplayed to Civilis. The ſoldiers, quite aſtonied with a revolt ſo ſurprizing, were ſlaughtered at once by their enemies and their companions. In the ſhips the ſame perfidiouſneſs was found. Part of the rowers were natives of Batavia: Theſe feigning themſelves unſkilled in that exerciſe, wilfully obſtructed the mariners and combatants in the diſcharge of their office, and fruſtrated all their efforts. Anon defying all orders, they rowed away directly towards the enemy's ſhore. At laſt, whatever Maſters and Centurions ſhewed not the ſame inclination, they butchered. Thus the Fleet intire, conſiſting of four and twenty ſhips, deſerted to the enemy, or was taken by him.

Signal was the credit which immediately accompanied this victory; ſignal afterwards the advantage: By it the victors gained what they wanted, ſhips and arms, beſides that through Germany and Gaul they reaped high renown, and were celebrated with applauſe as the authors of national liberty reſtored. Both Germanies preſently ſent them Ambaſſadors with offers of ſuccours. The alliance of the Gauls Civilis courted by preſents and addreſs. Such Captains of Cohorts as he had taken of that nation, he reſtored every one to his native reſidence. To the frank option of the Cohorts themſelves he left it, to depart home, or to remain with him, as they liſted. Thoſe who would ſtay he propoſed to diſtinguiſh honourably in the ſervice. With ſpoils taken from the Romans he preſented all who went away. He at the ſame time reaſoned with them ſecretly, and exhorted them to take warning from 'the ſeries of calamities which in ſo long a courſe 'of years they had ſuffered, whilſt to a miſerable

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'ſtate of bondage they falſly gave the name of peace. 'The Batavians, though exempt from tribute and 'payments, had yet taken up arms againſt the com-'mon oppreſſors of Nations: nay, in the firſt en-'gagement, the Romans were routed and vanquiſh-'ed. What muſt be the conſequence, were the 'Gauls too to throw off the yoke? What ſtrength 'afterwards would be found to remain in Italy? 'With the blood of the Provinces the Provinces 'were ſubdued. Upon the diſaſtrous arms of Vin-'dex they muſt not reflect: It was in truth by the 'Batavian Cavalry that his followers the Eduans 'and Avernians were diſcomfited. The Auxilia-'ries too, led by Verginius againſt him, were part-'ly compoſed of Belgic Gauls; and, in ſtrict rea-'ſoning, only under its own native forces had 'Gaul ſunk and fallen. At preſent they had all but 'one common purſuit, with the additional advan-'tage of having in the Camps of the Romans ac-'quired whatever ſound diſcipline was practiſed 'there. With him already concurred the Veteran 'Cohorts, they before whom the Legions of Otho 'fell. Bonds might ſtill be the portion of Syria 'and Aſia, and of the Eaſt, Countries inured to 'the tyranny of Kings. In Gaul there were yet 'alive many men born ere Tributes were known. 'What Germany had lately effected, was mani-'feſt; even the extirpation of bondage by the 'ſlaughter of Quintilius Varus. Neither was it 'ſuch an Emperor as Vitellius, but Auguſtus Cæ-'ſar himſelf, that this brave people thus defied to 'war. Liberty was a bleſſing beſtowed by the 'bounty of nature, even upon dumb beaſts: for-'titude and proweſs was a felicity peculiar to man, 'to the moſt intrepid and brave the Gods were al-'ways ſure to be aiding. Hence they ought, they 'who were unimployed, to aſſail an enemy on 'every ſide engaged; they who were in prime vi-

'gour,

'gour, to fall upon men fatigued and exhausted. 'Whilst some of them espoused Vespasian, some 'Vitellius, by such division scope was left to an-'noy both.'

Thus intent was Civilis upon drawing over the Provinces of Germany and Gaul, meditating if his scheme should succeed, to establish a Kingdom of Nations so extremely powerful and so extremely rich. Now Hordeonius Flaccus, by a course of dissimulation, fomented the first efforts of Civilis. But when messengers arrived full of affright, with tidings, 'That the Roman entrenchments were 'stormed, the Cohorts overwhelmed, and from the 'Isle of Batavia the Roman name extirpated;' he ordered Lupercus Mummius, Colonel of a Legion (who, as the oldest Colonel, had the Command in the winter-quarters of two Legions) to march out against the enemy. Lupercus forming an host of the Legionary soldiers encamped with him, of the Ubians drawn from the neighbourhood, and of the Treverian horse not far distant, led them along with rapidity, reinforced by a Squadron of Batavian Cavalry, men long since debauched in their allegiance, but feigning great fidelity, purposely to betray the Romans in the very heat of the battle, and then to fly away with the higher prospect of reward. Around him Civilis ranged the Ensigns and Banners of the vanquished and captive Cohorts, to spirit his own soldiers with these monuments of their recent glory displayed to sight, and to daunt and terrify his foes by thus recalling the remembrance of their sad defeat. In the rear of his army he directed his mother and his sisters to abide, as also the wives of his men, and even their little infants; as so many incitements to victory, at least to fill them with shame should they yield. Now when with the hideous chanting of the men, and the howlings of the women, the whole host resounded, by no means

equal

equal were the ſhouts returned by the Legions and auxiliary Cohorts. Nay, naked and unguarded was our left wing rendered by the Batavian Squadron, who immediately deſerted to the enemy, then inſtantly, like enemies, turned upon us. Yet the Legionary ſoldiers, though on every ſide they ſaw conſternation and diſorder, ſtill preſerved their ranks and their arms. The auxiliary Ubians and Treverians betook themſelves to ſcandalous flight, ſhifting and diſperſing all over the fields: Againſt them the Germans bent their fury and purſuit; and thus to the Legions an opportunity was miniſtered of eſcaping ſafely into that called the ancient Camp. Claudius Labeo, Commander of the Batavian Squadron, as a man engaged againſt Civils in domeſtic competition, was by him removed to the Country of Friſia; leſt, had he ſlain him, he ſhould have drawn upon himſelf national antipathy and hate, or, were he ſuffered at home, he might kindle inteſtine diviſion and quarrels.

About the ſame time, the agent by Civilis ſent to the Cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates, arrived amongſt them, as, in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, they were upon their march to Rome. In a moment they took fire, and ſwelling with pride and contumacy, demanded, 'as gratifications for 'their march, a Donative, double pay, and an aug-'mentation of their Cavalry;' all in truth promiſed them by Vitellius, yet now claimed with no view of ſucceeding, but only to ſeek cauſe of inſurrection. Flaccus too by making them many conceſſions, effected no more than to ſet them upon requiring with greater imperiouſneſs ſuch terms as they knew he would refuſe. So that ſcorning Flaccus, they took their rout towards lower Germany, there to join Civilis. Hordeonius, in a Council of Tribunes and Centurions, deliberated, whether he ſhould by ſtrong hand repreſs theſe men who thus renounced

renounced their obedience: Anon he concluded to retain his ſoldiers within the trenches; a purpoſe proceeding from impotence of ſpirit natural to him, and from the diſmay of the Officers who were ſorely perplexed with diſtruſt and concern, for that the inclinations of the auxiliary troops wavered, and by precipitate levies the Legions had been recruited. Preſently after finding himſelf ſeized with regret, and cenſured even by thoſe whoſe advice he had followed; as if he were now juſt ready for the purſuit, he wrote to Herennius Gallus, who commanded the firſt Legion, and then governed Bonn, 'to 'oppoſe the paſſage of the Batavians, and that he 'himſelf with his whole army would be ſure to 'follow cloſe upon their rear.' Without doubt, they might have been totally overwhelmed, had Hordeonius from that quarter, Gallus from this, poured in their forces at the ſame time, and aſſailed them on each hand thus beſet. Flaccus quite dropped the attempt, and, in other letters to Gallus, directed him, not to obſtruct them from paſſing on. Hence the ſuſpicion, that by the co-operation of the chief commanders the war was kindled, and hence all the many evils produced by it or apprehended from it, were conſtrued to ariſe from no want of bravery in the ſoldiers, from no ſuperior power in the enemy, but purely from the guile and baſeneſs of the Leaders.

The Batavians, as ſoon as they approached Bonn, ſent forward certain perſons to lay before Gallus the inſtructions with which they were charged by the Cohorts; 'That againſt the Romans, for whom 'they had ſo often made war, they meditated none. 'As they were weary and waſted with a courſe of 'warfare ſo tedious and ſo unprofitable, they only 'longed for their native homes and receſs from la'bour. If no one withſtood them their march 'ſhould be inoffenſive; but if they had arms to

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'encounter, they would find a paſſage by the help 'of their ſwords.' The Roman Commander of himſelf in ſuſpenſe, was puſhed by the ſoldiers to hazard a combat. Three thouſand Legionary ſoldiers there were, with ſome Cohorts haſtily levied in Belgia, as alſo a band of boors and of retainers to the camp, a heartleſs and daſtardly band, but full of pertneſs and defiance ere danger came. At all the gates the whole hoſt ſallied, with a purpoſe to ſurround the Batavians, in number unequal. They, like men old and experienced in the arts of war, drew up in triangular bodies, cloſe on every ſide, with their front, rear, and flanks all impenetrable and ſecure. In this form they pierced quite through our ranks thin and weak. The Belgians recoiling, the ſoldiers of the Legion were repulſed, and in great diſmay fled to their gates and ramparts. Here the greateſt ſlaughter was made. With carcaſſes in heaps the trenches were choked and filled. Nor was it wounds only and the hoſtile ſword which proved deſtructive; many periſhed in the diſaſters attending the tumult, many by their own weapons. The vanquiſhers avoiding Cologn, purſued their march, and during all the reſt of it, attempted no act of hoſtility. To vindicate themſelves from blame for the fight at Bonn, they alledged, that they had firſt fought peace, and had recourſe to ſelf-defence whence peace was refuſed.

By the acceſſion of the Veteran Cohorts, Civilis was become General of a regular and intire army; yet wavering in his purpoſes, and eſtimating the formidable might of the Romans, he obliged all that were with him to ſwear allegiance to Veſpaſian. To the two Legions alſo, which upon their defeat in the former engagement, had retreated to that called the old Camp, he ſent Ambaſſadors, to induce them to take the ſame oath. The anſwer returned was, 'That they profeſſed, not to follow

'the

'the counſels of a known Traitor, nor thoſe of 'public enemies. As their Emperor they acknow-'ledged none but Vitellius, for him they would 'perſevere in fidelity and arms to the final moment 'of their lives. Hence, a fugitive Batavian muſt 'not aſſume the controulment of the Roman State, 'but prepare to meet the deadly doom due to his 'enormous crimes.' When to Civilis this reply was recited, in a violent tranſport of fury and vengeance he excited the intire Batavian Nation to take arms. With them the Bructerians and Tencterians immediately joined: Germany was rouſed by agents purpoſely ſent, and all were intent upon the perquiſites of plunder and renown.

To reſiſt the Efforts of a war ſo threatning, and ſo many hoſtile combinations, the Commanders of the Legions, Mummius Lupercus and Numiſius Rufus fortified their bulwarks and entrenchments. The buildings which, during a long peace, had been raiſed near the camp, in ſuch number and extent that they reſembled a large town, were all demoliſhed; leſt they might prove of ſervice to the enemy. But, little availed this their precaution, unleſs they had firſt conveyed into the Camp the proviſions there contained: Theſe they permitted the men to ſnatch away. Thus in a few days was diſſipated, wantonly, a quantity of ſtores which for ſupplying their neceſſities would have ſufficed a long while. Civilis leading forth his hoſt, commanded the Centre in perſon, at the head of the ſelect forces of Batavia; and, to render his power the more dreadful to behold, with huge bands of Germans he covered both banks of the Rhine, whilſt all over the fields the horſemen were terribly bounding: At the ſame time too the ſhips were drawn up the river. Here the ſtandards of the Veteran Cohorts were preſented to view; there the frightful images of wild beaſts, brought out of their foreſts and

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facred groves, fuitably to the different uſage of diſtinct nations in proceeding to battle. Hence upon our forces, now beſieged, dreadful conſternation fell, from the ſight of an hoſtile army ſo diverſified as to repreſent at once the terrors of an inteſtine and of a foreign war. Beſides, the hopes of the aſſailants were raiſed and enlivened by the large circumference of the entrenchments, drawn at firſt of extent ſufficient to lodge two Legions, and now guarded by ſcarce five thouſand men. With theſe in truth there were a multitude of retainers to the camp, ſuch as upon the infraction of the public peace, had flocked thither, and were employed in the ſervices of war. One part of the camp ſtood upon the ſide of a hill riſing with a gentle aſcent, another upon the plain. For, by this winter encampment, Auguſtus judged that both Germanies would be kept beleaguered and utterly reſtrained, nor once foreſaw a time ſo diſaſtrous to the Romans, when they would even bid defiance and come to inveſt our Legions. Hence neither upon the ſituation, nor upon the ramparts was any uncommon labour beſtowed: Courage and arms ſeemed abundant bulwarks. The Batavians and they from beyond the Rhine, that the valour of each nation might glare more ſignally when apart, choſe diſtinct poſts, and began the aſſault by lancing their darts at a diſtance. Preſently after, as moſt of theſe their weapons miſſive fell without any execution, and hung impotently in the turrets and pinnacles of the walls; nay, as they themſelves were annoyed and wounded by vollies of ſtones poured from above; with violent impetuoſity and ſhouting they ruſhed to ſtorm the ramparts, the moſt part mounting upon ſcaling ladders, others upon the military ſhell formed by their companions. Already in truth ſome had reached the battlements, from whence they were hurled headlong by blows of ſabres and ſhocks of

bucklers, and then ſlaughtered with ſtakes and darts thrown after them, as men naturally vehement and precipitate in the firſt onſet, naturally overmuch elated with ſucceſs; and at this time ſo inflamed with thirſt of prey, that they ſubmitted even to bear calamities and ſore diſtreſs. Nay, they even attempted an expedient utterly new to them, the trial of battering engines; and, as in theſe they were deſtitute of all ſkill, they had deſerters and captives who inſtructed them to rear a frame of timber in faſhion of a bridge, and, by the aſſiſtance of wheels underneath, to roll it forward againſt the fortifications: ſo as ſome being poſted upon the arch, might from thence fight as from a mound, whilſt others encloſed within it were employed unſeen in demoliſhing the walls. But mighty ſtones caſt from the miſſive machines quite overthrew and levelled with the ground the unweildy and ill-compacted fabric. Then, while they were preparing ſhelters of hurdles and moving penthouſes, upon them were diſcharged from the engines ſhowers of flaming javelins. Thus even they who made the attack, were themſelves aſſaulted by terrible weapons of fire. At length deſpairing of ſucceſs from the method of force and ſtorming, they changed their meaſures, and had recourſe to time and leiſure: For they were aware that within the camp there were proviſions but for a few days, and a multitude large and unwarlike to maintain. They alſo hoped that from penury ſome treaſon wou'd accrue, that looſe and fickle would prove the fidelity of ſo many ſlaves, and that by the fortuitous events of war advantages would ariſe.

Flaccus, the while, having learnt the ſiege of the camp, and ſent agents into the territories of Gaul to procure and accelerate ſuccours, to Dillius Vocula, Commander of the eighteenth Legion, delivered a choſen detatchment from the Legions, with

with orders that by as large marches as poſſible he ſhould ſpeed away along the bank of the Rhine. He himſelf, as he was impotent and infirm, lingered behind, in his ſpirit quite benummed, by his ſoldiers abhorred. They indeed raged againſt him, in a ſtile no wiſe diſguiſed or obſcure, 'That he 'had even conſented to the departure of the Batavian Cohorts for Magontiacum; he had falſly 'feigned ignorance of the machinations of Civilis; 'he had ſuffered the Germans to aſſociate in the 'revolt. Nor had the co-operation and active aid 'of Antonius Primus, nor that of Mucianus, more 'notably ripened and enlarged the intereſt of Veſpaſian. Profeſſed hate and hoſtility avowed were 'obvious to be known, and openly to be repreſſed: 'fraud and the efforts of guile lurked under darkneſs, and thence could not be eſcaped. Civilis 'was an enemy declared; he advanced to the encounter, he embattled his men: Hordeonius, out 'of his chamber, and from his couch, iſſued whatever orders he knew ſalutary to the foe. Yes; 'ſo many bands of men completely armed and of 'hearts undaunted, were controuled by one man 'enfeebled through age and ſickneſs. More adviſeable it were by ſhedding the blood of the traitor, to reſcue their injured fortune and bravery 'from an inauſpicious General doomed to evil fate.' While yet warm with ſuch diſcourſes conſtantly paſſing amongſt themſelves, they were ſet on a flame by the letters brought from Veſpaſian. Theſe, becauſe they could not be ſuppreſſed, Flaccus publicly recited to the ſoldiers purpoſely aſſembled, and ſent ſuch as had brought them, in bonds to Vitellius.

The ſpirits of the men being thus mollified, they arrived at Bonn, the winter encampment of the firſt Legion. The ſoldiers there were yet more angry and incenſed, ſince upon Flaccus they charged all the blame of their defeat; 'for that by orders from

'him, they had marched out to encounter the Batavians, trusting to his engagement, that the Legions from Magontiacum should at the same time 'press them in the rear: Thus by his treachery 'their lives had been betrayed and sacrificed to the 'swords of their enemies, as to save them no succours were sent. To all the other armies these 'transactions were utterly unknown, nor were they 'even transmitted to their common Emperor, when 'it would have been easy by the array and concurrence of so many Provinces, to have suppressed 'a traiterous defection just begun.' Hordeonius, for his defence, in the hearing of the whole army, recited the copies of all the letters which he had sent into the Provinces of Gaul, into both Spains, and into Britain, to press and sollicit them for succours; and introduced a very mischievous precedent, by appointing that what public letters came, should be delivered first to the Eagle-bearers of the Legions, to be by them read to the soldiers before they were presented to the General. He then ordered one of the ringleaders of the sedition to be committed to bonds, rather indeed to assert his own authority, than that there were no criminals but one. And the army moving from Bonn, proceeded to Cologn, whither flocked many succours from amongst the Gauls; a People who at first vigorously supported the cause of the Romans: Anon many of their Cities, encouraged by the revolt in Germany daily gathering strength, took up arms against us, in hopes of recovering their liberty, as also thirsting to bear rule over others, were they once redeemed from servitude themselves. Now still higher waxed the wrath of the Legions, nor upon them had the example of one man committed to chains, brought any awe or terror: Nay, that One brought a charge too against the General, 'of being an accomplice with the rebels, and of 'op-

'oppreſſing him with a forged crime, to prevent 'his witneſſing the truth, as between Civilis and 'Flaccus he had been an inter-agent.' Inſtantly Vocula mounted the Tribunal with amazing courage, ordered this ſoldier to be ſeized, and, for all his exclaiming, doomed him to be led to preſent execution. Thus, whilſt the guilty and ill-diſpoſed were ſtruck with dread, all the innocent and well-meaning paid ready obedience to his order. Then, as with one accord, they craved Vocula for their General, upon him Flaccus devolved the whole command.

Their ſpirits, already turbulent, many circumſtances concurred to render quite outrageous: They wanted their pay; they wanted grain. The Gauls, too, haughtily refuſed to pay tribute, and denied to furniſh levies. The Rhine, through drought never before known in that climate, was ſcarce deep enough for the bearing of veſſels: Victuals were ſcarce: All along the banks guards were poſted to repulſe the Germans from paſſing: Hence leſs grain was ſupplied, and more mouths to conſume it. With the vulgar it paſſed for a prodigy, that the waters had ſunk ſo low; as if the rivers alſo, and the ancient bulwarks and boundaries of the Empire, had forſaken us: An event which during peace would have been only called an *accident*, or, at moſt, the *courſe of nature*, was at this juncture ſtiled the *decree of fate*, and the *vengeance of the Deity*. Upon their entrance into Noveſium, the thirteenth Legion joined them. Herennius Gallus, Commander of a Legion, was taken into ſhare of the direction with Vocula; and, as they durſt not advance againſt the foe, they encamped at a place called Gelduba. Here they hardened and exerciſed the men, by arraying them frequently in order of battle, by digging trenches, raiſing ramparts, and other devices and eſſays in war. Moreover, to

kindle them into valour and enterprize by the ſweets and incitement of plunder, moſt of the army was by Vocula conducted againſt the adjacent territories of the Gugernians, a people who had confederated with Civilis. Part of the forces remained in the camp with Gallus.

It happened that, in the river not far from the camp, a veſſel laden with grain ſtruck in the ſhallows; and, as the Germans were pulling it to their ſhore, Gallus, who could not brook the indignity, diſpatched a band of five hundred men to ſave and recover it. The Germans at the ſame time had their number augmented; and ſuccours on both ſides by degrees flocking in, a general conflict enſued. The Germans carried off the veſſel, with huge havoc of our forces. The vanquiſhed, according to the cuſtom and mode for ſome time eſtabliſhed, cenſured not their own ſpiritleſs behaviour, but Gallus as a traitor. Out of his tent they dragged him, rent off his apparel, covered his perſon with ſtripes, and imperiouſly commanded him to declare, 'for how much reward he had betrayed 'the army, and who were his accomplices.' Upon Hordeonius their ſpight and the common abhorrence recoiled: Him they ſtile the *deviſer of the villainy*, the other *his agent*. At length, terrified with their inceſſant menaces of preſent death, even he alſo charged Hordeonius with treaſon. Thus he was bound in chains; then, upon the arrival of Vocula, releaſed. The latter on the day following doomed the authors of the mutiny to capital puniſhment. Such was the ſtrange contrariety of temper in that army; ſo prone to outrages, ſo tame under chaſtiſement! Without queſtion, the common ſoldiers adhered ſincerely to Vitellius: All the men of diſtinction were devoted to Veſpaſian. Hence the frequent viciſſitudes of enormities and puniſhments, and inſtances of obſequiouſneſs joined to acts of fury.

fury. So that such as would suffer no rule or restraint, could submit to bear severity and correction.

Now Civilis, through the universal concurrence of Germany, and by the arrival of infinite succours from thence, was raised to mighty power. For that people, to bind their alliance with him, had delivered as hostages the principal Lords amongst them. To these his confederates he issued orders, that they should severally, according to their proximity and situation, lay waste the territories of the Ubians and Treverians; and that another band should pass the river Meuse, to harass the country, and shake the faith of the Menapians, the Morinians, and the frontier regions of Gaul. In both quarters spoil and ravages were committed; but amongst the Ubians more implacably than elsewhere, for that they, who were by extraction Germans, having cast off and disowned their native country, assumed a Roman name, that of *Agrippinians*. In the Town of Marcodurum their Cohorts were cut in pieces, whilst they lay heedlessly and unguarded, in their own opinion secure at such a distance from the Rhine. Neither did the Ubians acquiesce in the loss, but restlessly infested Germany, and carried off plunder, at first with impunity; but afterwards they were intercepted and slaughtered. In truth, through the whole course of that war, they behaved with more fidelity to us than success to themselves. When the Ubians were crushed, Civilis, become thence more keen and implacable, and upon the fortunate issue of his efforts more elated and haughty, pressed forward with vigour the siege of the Legions. To prevent any secret messenger from entring with tidings of approaching succour, he carefully posted guards. Upon the Batavians he transferred the direction of the machines, and the task of carrying on the works. To those from beyond the Rhine,

urging to be led to the onſet, he gave orders to level the entrenchments, nay, to renew the attack after they had been repulſed: For his hoſt was overnumerous, and the loſs of men eaſy to be borne.

Nor did the fall of night put a period to this their toil and purſuit. Bringing together great quantities of wood, they ſet it on fire quite round the Leaguer, and betook themſelves to banquetting and good fellowſhip: Then, as faſt as they were ſeverally inflamed with wine, they flew to the attack with precipitation altogether fruitleſs and fool-hardy. For their own darts, thrown at random in the dark, fell without execution; whilſt to the aim of the Romans the hoſt of Barbarians were preſented conſpicuous by their own lights; and every particular, ſignal for boldneſs, or the ſplendor of his armour, proved a ſure mark. Of this Civilis was apprized: He therefore ordered 'the fires to be extinguiſhed, 'and the whole to be committed to the blind con-'fuſion of arms and darkneſs.' Hence inſtantly began an uproar various and confuſed, caſualties and encounters unaccountable. Where-ever noiſe or tumult happened to be heard, thither they faced about, thither bent their blows: Of no availment proved bravery or manhood: By the mere anarchy of chance all things were wildly jumbled, all things diſconcerted; and by the weapons of cowards the braveſt men often fell. The Germans were actuated by fury void of forecaſt: The Roman ſoldiers, like men inured to perilous adventures, lanced poles pointed with iron, and ſtones huge and maſſy, nor lanced at random. As often as the noiſe of the efforts againſt the palliſade, or ſcaling ladders there planted, had drawn them upon the enemy, down they hurled them with the navels of their bucklers, and after them darted javelins: As many too had mounted the battlements, theſe they ſlaughtered with their ſwords.

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When the night had been in this manner ſpent, the ſucceeding day preſented a new method of attack. The Batavians had drawn out a Tower ready made, conſiſting of two floors, and were moving it towards the Prætorian gate, as thither the ground was moſt level. Againſt this ſtructure ſtrong booms were pointed and rammed, and mighty rafters heaved; whence it was cruſhed to pieces, with mighty havoc of ſuch as were poſted upon its ſtories. Upon the foe thus baffled and diſmayed an onſet was made by a ſudden and ſucceſsful ſally. The Legionary ſoldiers, the while, men practiſed and dexterous in mechanical devices for war, framed ſeveral machines: Signal beyond that of all the reſt, was the terror cauſed by one which was hoiſted up and waved over-head: This, ſuddenly ſtooping down, pulled the enemy aloft, ſometimes one, ſometimes ſeveral, juſt in the face of their fellows, and then, upon turning the weight, flung them into our camp. Civilis, having now dropped all hopes of ſucceeding by ſtorm, had again recourſe to an inactive ſiege, and only employed agents and great offers to ſhake the faith of the Legions.

Such were the tranſactions in Germany before the battle of Cremona; the iſſue of which was communicated by letters from Antonius Primus, who with them alſo ſent the edict of Cæcina, the Conſul. In truth, the Captain of a Cohort amongſt the vanquiſhed, Alpinus Montanus, in perſon acknowledged the ſad fate of the party. Hence amongſt them enſued emotions of ſpirit very different and oppoſite. The Auxiliaries from Gaul, men who towards neither of the contending parties felt either fondneſs or averſion, men who bore arms without attachment or affection for any cauſe, inſtantly revolted from Vitellius upon the perſuaſion of their Officers. The Veteran ſoldiers heſitated; but when Hordeonius propoſed the oath, and the Tribunes

urged them to take it, they indeed ſwore, but without yielding any aſſurance of their conviction either in their countenance or their temper. Nay, when they repeated the reſt of the form diſtinctly, they pauſed at the name of Veſpaſian, and either muttered it haſtily, or, which was the practice of the majority, paſſed it over in utter ſilence.

After this, to the ſoldiers purpoſely aſſembled were read the letters from Antonius to Civilis, and further provoked the jealouſy of the men, as conceived in language proper for an aſſociate in the ſame cauſe, and mentioning the German army under the ſtyle of enemies. Anon the tidings were carried to the Camp at Gelduba, and there, again, the ſame things ſpoken and acted. Montanus was moreover ſent to Civilis with inſtructions, to will him 'to forbear war; to ceaſe diſguiſing hoſtile 'arms with falſe names and pretences. If to Veſ-'paſian he meant to miniſter aid, his purſuit was 'abundantly fulfilled.' To all this Civilis, at firſt, made an artful and crafty reply; afterwards, when he obſerved Montanus to be of a ſpirit very violent and fierce, and prone to embark in public innovations, he began to complain, and to urge the perils which, without meaſure, he had undergone during a courſe of five and twenty years in the Camp and ſervice of the Romans. He then added; 'a glo-'rious recompence of my labours have I received, 'even the untimely death of my brother, even my 'own chains and impriſonment, even the cruel and 'implacable clamours of this army; and as by them 'my blood was demanded, by the law of nations 'I claim vengeance, and purſue it. For you, Tre-'verians, and all the reſt of mankind who have 'ſouls ſold to bondage, what price hope ye for 'your blood ſo often ſpilt, other than warfare void 'of profit, everlaſting tribute, rigorous rods and 'axes, and the ſpirit of lawleſs Lords domineering

'over

'over the helpleſs ſlaves? Behold me, behold the 'Caninefates and Batavians, me no more than the 'Captain of a ſingle Cohort, them only a handful, 'a ſmall portion of Gaul: Yet they and I have 'demoliſhed their encampments ſo ſpacious and ſo 'unavailing; at leaſt we beſet them on every ſide, 'and urge them with famine and the ſword. To 'add no more; by adventuring we ſhall either re-'cover public liberty, or, if we be vanquiſhed, 'ſuffer but the ſame ſlavery.' He then diſmiſſed Montanus thus roufed and enraged, but with directions to repreſent in a gentler ſtrain whatever had paſſed between them. He, upon his return, owned his embaſſy to have been fruitleſs, but under diſſimulation hid all the reſt, which anon broke forth glaringly.

Civilis, retaining with himſelf part of his forces, againſt Vocula and his army diſpatched the Veteran Cohorts with whatever Germans he had remarkably brave, aſſigning them for Leaders Julius Maximus, and Claudius Victor, huſband to his ſiſter. In their rout they ravaged the winter encampment of a ſquadron of horſe, ſituated at Aſciburgium, and with rapidity ſo unforeſeen ruſhed upon Vocula's entrenchments, that he wanted time to ſpeak to his men, time to array them in order of battle. What only he could do in the confuſion of an uproar, was to adviſe, 'That with Legionary ſoldiers the cen-'tre ſhould be filled and fortified.' Round about theſe the auxiliary troops were ranged. Preſently our cavalry advanced to the onſet, and being by the enemy received with ranks ſteady and firm, turned round, and retired flying to their own hoſt. What followed was downright ſlaughter, and not a battle. Moreover the Nervian Cohorts, moved through perfidiouſneſs or terror, leaving their ſtation, left our men naked on the flanks. So that the attack was puſhed on quite to the Legions, nay the

Legions, having already loſt their Banners, were ſuffering carnage and diſcomfiture within their ramparts, when, on a ſudden, by the arrival of freſh ſuccours, the fortune of the combat was changed. The Gaſcon bands, lately levied by Galba, and at this juncture called in to aſſiſt their friends, as they approached the Camp, hearing the ſhouts of the combatants, fell upon the enemy in the rear whilſt earneſtly purſuing the defeat, and filled them with diſmay much heavier than needed from a number no greater, for that amongſt the foes many believed that ſupplies were come from Noveſium; as did others, that they were the forces intire from Magontiacum. This miſtake inſpired the Romans with magnanimity; and in aſſurance of the help miniſtered by the vigour of others, they exerted their own. Of the Batavians all the braveſt men throughout their infantry were cut off. The horſe eſcaped with the ſtandards and captives taken from us in the beginning of the encounter. There fell on our ſide, that day, the larger number, but of men the leaſt valiant. Out of the German hoſt periſhed the very ſtrength and prime.

The Commanders on either ſide were equally to blame, and, having both merited evil ſucceſs, were both wanting to improve their good fortune. For, had Civilis ſent out a more numerous army, it could never have been incloſed in the rear by a few Cohorts, and having already broken into the entrenchments, would have likewiſe demoliſhed them. Vocula, who had not ſo much as ſent to ſpy the motions of the enemy, was not aware of their approach: Hence, as ſoon as he marched forth againſt them, he was vanquiſhed by them. Next, when he had even obtained the victory, preſuming little upon it, he waſted ſeveral days to no purpoſe, ere he moved towards the enemy. Whereas, had he haſted to preſs them, and to follow the courſe of events,

events, he might, with the same effort continued, have released the Legions from the siege. Civilis the while had tampered with the besieged, and tried to win them to submit, by representing, that upon the Romans destruction was brought, and utter despair, and that over them his forces had gained the victory. The Ensigns and Banners just taken were carried about, and pompously displayed; nay, in ostentation the Captives were all presented to view. Glorious was the resolution with which one of these at this time acquitted himself: With a voice confident and loud he explained the whole transaction, and was butchered upon the spot by the Germans. Hence the greater credit to his discovery. Moreover, by the sacking and burning of the villages it was perceived that the conquering army approached. Vocula ordered, 'That in full sight of 'the Camp the Standards should be erected, and 'round about a trench and palisade to be made, 'that there lodging their baggage and burdens, they 'might engage without any encumbrance.' Hence the soldiers, craving to be led instantly to the assault, clamoured against the General; nay, they had even grown to a habit of threatening their Commanders. In truth, without staying to be ranged in order of battle, still weary, and their ranks disorderly, they wilfully proceeded to the encounter. For Civilis had already drawn up to receive them; nor placed he less assurance in the faults and licentiousness of his enemies, than in the valour and manhood of his own men. In the engagement, the fate and efforts of the Romans greatly varied, and all the most signal for sedition, appeared spiritless cowards. Some, animated by the memory of their late victory, maintained their ground, gored the foe, roused their own vigour, roused that of their companions. Moreover, when they had thus restored

ſtored their yielding battle, they held up their hands, and beckoned to the beſieged, that they would not fail to improve the occaſion. Theſe, who from their battlements beheld the whole, ſallied inſtantly at all the gates. It happened too that Civilis, being thrown by the fall of his horſe, was through both armies reported and believed to have been terribly wounded, or quite ſlain; tidings which upon his own men brought diſmay incredible, and upon his enemies incredible ſpirit and joy.

But after the flying foe Vocula made no purſuit. He only applied himſelf to enlarge the towers and ramparts of the beſieged Camp, as if again the ſiege were at hand. Hence, having ſo often miſuſed victory, he was ſuſpected, not unjuſtly, of ſtudying to prolong the war. To our army nothing proved ſo annoying and ſevere as ſcarcity of proviſions. So that the baggage and carriages of the Legions, and with theſe the unwarlike crowd, were ſent away from the Camp to Noveſium, that from thence they might bring back ſupplies of grain by land carriage; for of the river the enemy held poſſeſſion. The firſt train paſſed in perfect ſecurity; for as yet Civilis had not ſufficiently recovered his Strength. As ſoon as he had learnt, 'that 'a party was again ſent to Noveſium for corn, that 'for their convoy ſome Cohorts had been aſſigned 'them, and that they journeyed in a negligent 'manner, as if full peace had been eſtabliſhed;' he advanced againſt the looſe band, the men thin about their Enſigns, their arms carried in the waggons, all ſtraggling without order or reſtraint, each as he liſted; and, with his troops regularly embattled, fell upon them under this diſorder; having firſt ſent forward ſome forces to poſt themſelves upon the bridges, and in the paſſes. For a long way the combat continued, and with dubious ſucceſs, till night parted the fray. The Cohorts reached to

Gelduba,

Gelduba, and found the Camp there in the ſame ſtate, ſtill ſecured by the garriſon lately left in it. It remained no doubt what threatening danger muſt be incurred in the return, whilſt they who carried the grain were loaded, and indeed already diſmayed. Hence Vocula, in order to protect them, joined to his own army a thouſand choſen men, detached from the fifth Legion and the fifteenth, the Legions beſieged in the old encampment; men very fierce and unmanageable, and againſt their Leaders full of rancour. With thoſe who were ordered to go more went without orders, and upon their march ſtormed openly and aloud, 'That they would no 'longer endure famine, no longer endure the frauds 'and wicked machinations of their Commanders.' Nay, they too who remained behind, made heavy complaints, 'That by thus drawing away one part, 'the reſt were left deſperate and forlorn.' Hence a twofold ſedition, whilſt ſome urged to have Vocula called back again to the Camp, and others refuſed to return thither.

In the mean time Civilis laid ſiege to the old encampment. Vocula proceeded to Gelduba, thence to Noveſium. Civilis then ſeized Gelduba. Anon, not far from Noveſium, our cavalry engaged the foe, and gained the victory. But whether after victory or defeat, ſtill equally incenſed and outrageous were the ſoldiers to thirſt after the blood of their Leaders. Beſides, as the Legions were augmented by the acceſſion of a detachment from the fifth and fifteenth, they confidently claimed preſent payment of their donative; for they had learnt that the money was already ſent thither by Vitellius. Neither did Hordeonius pauſe long, but diſtributed it in the name of Veſpaſian. This very thing was the chief ſpur and fuel to their diſorder and inſurrection. They inſtantly abandoned themſelves, without all meaſure, to a courſe of debauchery, and good chear,

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to nocturnal revellings and cabals, and thus renewed their ancient ſpite and fury againſt Hordeonius. And as none of the General Officers or Tribunes dared to check or oppoſe them, (ſo much had the ſhades of night conduced to baniſh all ſhame) they dragged him out of his bedchamber, and then butchered him. Againſt Vocula the ſame bloody violence was prepared, had he not diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a ſlave, and eſcaped undiſcovered in the dark. The moment their rage became appeaſed, dread and conſciouſneſs took place: Thus they ſent Centurions with letters to the cities of Gaul to entreat ſuccours and money. They themſelves, upon the approach of Civilis, acted like every crowd without a ruler, always precipitate, always timorous and lifeleſs. At firſt they flew headlong to arms, the next minute dropped them, and took to immediate flight. Their diſtreſs begot diſſentions amongſt them: They from the higher army withdrew from the reſt, and held an intereſt apart. Through the Camp, however, and in the Belgic Cities adjoining, the images of Vitellius were reſtored, when Vitellius in perſon was already fallen. In ſhort time, remorſe ſeized and reclaimed thoſe of the firſt, of the fourteenth and of the eighteenth Legions, and they followed the command of Vocula. Of him they again took the oath to Veſpaſian, and were then led to raiſe the ſiege of Magontiacum *(a)*. The beſiegers were indeed now withdrawn, a motly army of Cattians, Uſipians and Mattiacians, all aſſociated for plunder, nor had they forborne feats of cruelty and blood. Upon them as they paſſed careleſly on in their way, diſperſed and apprized of no danger, our ſoldiers fell ſword in hand. The Treverians too had all along their own frontiers reared a wall and defence; nay, war-

(a) The City of Mentz.

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ed againſt the Germans, with mighty ſlaughter given and received. At laſt, by a revolt they ſtained all their glorious ſervices done to the Roman people.

During theſe tranſactions Veſpaſian and Titus commenced Conſuls, the former now the ſecond time, and both abſent, whilſt in Rome great melancholy prevailed, and the City was racked with manifold fears. The inhabitants, beſides the calamities which preſently preſſed them, had entertained imaginary terrors, 'as if Africa had rebelled, 'and Lucius Piſo were there concerting a public 'change.' It was he who ruled that Province; a man who poſſeſſed a ſpirit far from turbulent: But becauſe through the roughneſs of the ſeas in the winter ſeaſon, ſhips were detained from returning thence to Rome, the common herd, who were wont every day to purchaſe ſuſtenance only for the day, they who of all public concerns are ſolicitous for none but the ſupply of public proviſions, dreaded that the coaſt there was now guarded, that the tranſportation of grain was prohibited; and from dreading it, they believed it. The Vitellians too heightened the rumour; for they had not yet relinquiſhed the ſpirit of party. In truth, ſuch news were no-wiſe offenſive to the conquerors, men whoſe rapacious paſſions no foreign conqueſt and ſpoil could ever ſatiate, much leſs any civil acquiſition or victory ever ſatisfy.

On the firſt of January, the Senate, aſſembled by Julius Frontinus City-Prætor, awarded, by a ſolemn decree, the thanks and commendations of the public to the General Officers, to the Armies, and to our confederate Kings. Moreover, from Tertius Julianus, for having forſaken his Legion when it was about to eſpouſe the cauſe of Veſpaſian, the Prætorſhip was taken away, and transferred to Plotius Griphus. Upon Hormus the Equeſtrian dignity was conferred. Soon after, Frontinus

nus resigning the Prætor's Office, the same was assumed by Domitian now intitled *Cæsar*. To all letters and all edicts his name was prefixed; but in Mucianus remained the controul and sway; only that Domitian, following the instigation of his intimates, or his own licentious will, boldly exerted many acts of power. But to Mucianus the principal cause or dread accrued from Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus, men covered with fresh laurels, signal for fame in war, followed by the zeal and affections of the soldiery, nay, beloved even by the populace, for that no man's blood had they shed save in the heat of battle. Antonius was besides reported to have persuaded Scribonianus Crassus to assume the Sovereignty, as he was descended from ancestors very glorious in the State, and shone himself with the lustre derived from his brother; neither could he fail of a band of associates combined to espouse him; but that Scribonianus refused to comply, as he was by no means easy to be seduced, even though all measures had been already ascertained; so very fearful was he of engaging upon uncertainties. Mucianus, therefore, seeing he could not openly crush Antonius, after he had heaped upon him publicly in the Senate, praises mighty and many, loaded him in private with large promises, and particularly flattered him with 'the government of the nethermost Spain, destitute of a 'ruler by the departure of Cluvius Rufus.' Upon the friends of Antonius he, at the same time, accumulated military promotions; preferred many to Governments, many to the dignity of Tribunes. Then, when he had with false hopes and ambition puffed up his vain spirit, he quite broke and dissipated his power, having for this purpose dismissed the seventh Legion to their winter encampment, a Legion known to be transported with a very flaming affection for Antonius. Into Syria too was sent back

back the third Legion, a body of men naturally attached to Arrius Varus. Some part of the army was conducted into Germany. Thus, by removing all the inſtruments of tumult and diſorder, to the City returned her own pacific form, the Laws reſumed their old courſe, the Magiſtrates their wonted functions.

Domitian on the day of his going to the Senate, diſcourſed concerning the abſence of his father, and that of his brother, as alſo concerning his own youth and inſufficiency, in very few words, and very modeſt; graceful as he was in his aſpect and demeanour. Beſides, as his bent and habits were yet unknown, his frequent bluſhes, and marks of confuſion, paſſed for the effects of modeſty and ſhyneſs. When Domitian propoſed that all the abrogated honours of Galba ſhould be reſtored, Curtius Montanus offered it as his ſentiments, that to the memory of Piſo alſo ſome public ſolemnity ſhould be paid. The Fathers ordained both: But of what regarded Piſo nothing was executed. Thereafter were drawn by lot a number of Commiſſioners, 'ſuch as were to adjudge reſtitution of whatever had been uſurped by violence during the war: Such too as were to inſpect the Tables of braſs upon which the Laws were engraven, and where by age they were decayed, to hang them up anew: Such alſo as were to purify the public records from the vile inſertions, with which, through the ſycophancy of the Times, they were contaminated, and to reſtrain the public expence.' To Julianus, as ſoon as he was known to have fled to Veſpaſian, the office of Prætor was reſtored; yet with Griphus the dignity remained. It was next agreed to reſume the proceſs between Muſonius Rufus and Publius Celer. Publius was convicted and ſentenced, and to the manes of Soranus atonement thus made. Signal was this day, as for

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ſuch an inſtance of public vengeance, ſo for matter of private merit and praiſe; ſince Muſonius was eſteemed to have procured, by his pleading, a juſt and ſatisfactory judgment. A Character very oppoſite clave to Demetrius, one who adhered to the ſect of the Cynics, for labouring with views more ambitious than virtuous, to defend ſo notorious a criminal. Celer himſelf was utterly unfurniſhed either with courage under diſtreſs, or of ſpeech to plead. Upon this ſignal given for purſuing revenge againſt the accuſers, Junius Mauricus made ſuit to Domitian, 'That to the Senate he would impart 'the regiſters of the late Emperors; whence they 'might diſcover who they were that ſolicited to be 'admitted accuſers, and againſt whom.' He replied, 'That in an affair of this ſort, the ſenti-'ments of the Emperor muſt be learnt.'

The Senate upon this occaſion deviſed an oath, by which they ſeverally appealed to the Deities, 'That by no artifice or co-operation of theirs had 'aught been ever done to hurt the life of any par-'ticular whatſoever, nor from the calamities of 'their fellow-citizens had they ever reaped honour 'or price:' A precedent which the chief Lords of the Senate began; the Magiſtrates followed them with zeal, and even competition; as did all the reſt as faſt as their voices were aſked; to the great conſternation of ſuch as were conſcious of their own guilt, and thence, by divers ſhifts and evaſions, varied the words of the oath. The Fathers declared their approbation of the conſcientious ſwearing: Againſt the turning it into perjury they expreſſed their indignation. Inſomuch that, upon Sariolenus Vocula, upon Nonius Actianus, and upon Ceſtius Severus, all notorious for the inceſſant trade of accuſing under Nero, ſuch a declaration of the Senate fell very ſorely, as if it had been a judgment paſſed in form againſt them. Nay, Sariolenus

riolenus was likewiſe preſſed by a charge of iniquity juſt recent, for that he had laboured with Vitellius to introduce the ſame practices. The Fathers even threatened him with uplifted hands, nor forbore till he quitted the aſſembly. Then all turning upon Pactius Africanus, they ſet themſelves to drive him too from amongſt them, as it was he who had marked out for victims to Nero the two brothers of the Scribonian houſe and name, both ſignal for wealth, both conſpicuous for fraternal unity and tenderneſs, and purſued them to deſtruction. Africanus dared not confeſs the charge, nor could he deny it. He therefore confronts Vibius Criſpus, by whom particularly he was worried with queſtions, and againſt him urges the ſame dealings: and, ſtriving to combine charges, which ſingle or mixed he could not defend, he ſought to evade the abhorrence of his guilt by ſhewing others as guilty.

Mighty was the name and applauſe which, for natural affection and eloquence, Vipſtanus Meſſalla that day acquired, by venturing, though not yet arrived at the age of a Senator, to plead for favour to Aquilius Regulus his brother. To infinite public abhorrence Regulus ſtood expoſed, as the man who had deſtroyed the illuſtrious houſe of the ancient Craſſi, and that of Orphitus. Of his own mere will and motion it appeared that he had aſſumed to himſelf the accuſation of theſe noble Romans, whilſt yet in his early youth, through no neceſſity of averting danger from himſelf, but with a view to favour and power. Moreover, at this juncture, Sulpicia Pretextata, the widow of Craſſus, and her four fatherleſs children, attended ready to purſue their juſt vengeance, were the Senate diſpoſed to proceed to cognizance. Meſſalla, therefore, attempted not to vindicate the charge, nor the perſon charged; but, interpoſing between his brother and the danger that threatened him,

had

had softened some of the Senators. To defeat this his intercession, Curtius Montanus intervened with a speech vehement and stern, and in it carried his charge so high, as to alledge, 'That after the 'murder of Galba, Regulus had made a present of 'money to the ruffian who assassinated Piso; nay, 'that he had greedily bitten the head of Piso, when 'separated from his body. To this, said he, surely Nero never compelled thee; nor didst thou 'by such inhuman barbarity redeem thy dignity 'or life. From them who judged it more advisable to bring destruction upon others than danger 'upon themselves, we may in truth bear this as 'their defence. Thou didst live in full security, 'derived to thee from the banishment of thy father, from the distribution of his fortune amongst 'his creditors, from thy young years not yet qualified for preferment in the State. Thou hadst 'nothing that Nero could covet from thee, nothing 'that he could fear. Lusting after blood, and ravening for rewards and gain, thou didst with 'noble murders season thy genius, ere it was yet 'known, even before thou hadst proved it by appearing an advocate for any man; when having brought the Commonwealth to her funeral and doom, thou didst, for such service, snatch 'the Consular Honours as her spoils and remains; 'when gorged with a recompence of two hundred thousand crowns, when refulgent with the 'splendor of the Pontifical Office, thou hurriedst 'to perdition innocent Children, ancient and illustrious Men, Ladies signal in rank, involving 'all in one common ruin; when thou chiddest 'the course of Nero's cruelty as too slow, for that 'by gradually overthrowing family after family, 'he did but fatigue himself and all the accusers, 'when it was in his power to crush the whole 'body of the Senate with a single breath.

'Retain

'Retain amongſt you, Conſcript Fathers, and 'to further uſe reſerve a man capable of giving 'counſel ſo deciſive, counſel ſo ſuddenly to be 'executed; that with ſuch an inſtructor every ge- 'neration may be ſupplied; and as our ancient 'men imitate Criſpus and Marcellus, ſo our young 'may Regulus: Even in wickedneſs which proves 'unſucceſsful, men find followers and rivals: What 'muſt be the conſequence, where it exalts its head 'and proſpers? Nay, if we dare not offend a man 'whilſt yet only Quæſtor, ſhall we willingly ſee 'him riſe to be Prætor, riſe to be Conſul? Do 'you in truth conceive Nero to have been the laſt, 'the concluding Tyrant? So believed they who 'had ſurvived Tiberius; ſo thought they that had 'outlived Caligula; when in the mean time there 'aroſe one ſtill more deteſtable, ſtill more brutal 'and ſanguinary. Of Veſpaſian we entertain no 'dread; ſuch is the maturity of that Prince's age, 'ſuch the moderation of his ſpirit. But more 'laſting are the examples of juſtice and ſeverity, 'than is the good, but periſhing life of any mortal 'man. We grow faint, and our ſpirit droops, 'Conſcript Fathers; nor are we any longer that 'Senate which, when Nero was ſlain, boldly claim- 'ed to have the tribe of accuſers, and all the tools 'of tyranny, doomed to execution according to the 'rigorous method of antiquity. After the reign 'of a wicked Prince, the firſt day is ſurely the 'beſt.'

With ſuch ſignal concurrence and unanimity of the Senate was Montanus heard, that Helvidius gathered hopes of being able to abaſe Marcellus. He therefore began; introducing firſt the praiſes of Cluvius Rufus, one who though equally wealthy, though equally applauded for eloquence, had in no inſtance, during all the Empire of Nero, wrought danger to the life and fortune of any man. Then,

applying to Marcellus, he urged him at once with his own crying crimes, and with this worthy example. The minds too of the Fathers were on fire for the profecution. This Marcellus no fooner perceived, than making as if he were taking his farewel, and withdrawing from the aſſembly; 'I am 'departing, ſaid he, and leave thee, Priſcus, to 'controul a Senate which is thine. Go on, and 'reign even in the face of the Emperor's ſon.' There followed him Vibius Criſpus; both enraged, but bearing different countenances, Marcellus with eyes full of vengeance, Criſpus ſhewing a ſcornful ſmile. As they were going, their friends flocking to ſtop them, haled them back again. As the conteſt waxed more and more vehement, here maintained by the upright Many, there by the powerful Few, on both ſides with much bitterneſs and rancour, in the ſtrife of words the whole day was waſted.

The next aſſembly of the Senate, when Domitian had begun with a motion for 'obliterating the 'impreſſions of all reſentment and anguiſh, and of 'every grievance ariſing from the neceſſity of the 'late times;' Mucianus proceeding to offer his ſentiments, harangued at large in behalf of the accuſers. To ſuch withal as having begun, but afterwards dropped any proceſs, and now offered to revive it, he applied with gentle diſſuaſions and addreſs, and in the ſtile of requeſt. The fathers, thus thwarted in their efforts to aſſert their liberty, ceaſed the purſuit. Mucianus, who feared that the judgment of the Senate might thus ſeem to be ſet at nought, and an indemnity to be declared for all the iniquities committed under Nero, remanded Octavius Sagitta and Antiſtius Soſianus, both in the rank of Senators, back to the iſlands, whither they had been formerly baniſhed, and from whence they had lately returned. Octavius, having lived in adulte-

adulterous commerce with Pontia Poſtumia, in a tranſport of love, for that ſhe refuſed to marry him, had ſlain her. Soſianus, by a courſe of life altogether malignant and depraved, had brought deadly deſtruction upon many. Both indeed had been condemned to exile by a ſevere decree of the Senate, and, though to others leave was granted to return, both continued under ſentence to the ſame puniſhment ſtill. Nor even thus did Mucianus mollify the deſpight conceived againſt him. For Soſianus and Sagitta were accounted perſons impotent and contemptible, had they been even permitted to return. But from the ſpirit of the accuſers many apprehenſions aroſe, many from their great wealth, many from their great ſway, which in miſchievous devices only they had ever employed. What conciliated in ſome ſmall meaſure the diſcontented minds of the Fathers, was, that in the Senate cognizance was taken of a cauſe conformably to the primitive uſage. One of their own Order, Manlius Patruitus preſented a complaint, 'That in the Colony of 'Sienna he had been inſulted and beaten by the 'crowd, even by order of their Magiſtrates. Nor 'thus had the outrage ended: They had even con'ſtrained him to bear the mummery of his own 'funeral, with many mock lamentations, and all 'the grimace of mourning, as alſo a torrent of 'taunts and contumelies uttered againſt the Senate 'in a body.' The perſons accuſed were ſummoned, and upon conviction ſuffered capital puniſhment. The ſentence was followed by a decree of Senate warning the populace of Sienna to learn a more reſpectful and modeſt behaviour. About the ſame time Antonius Flamma, proſecuted by the people of Cyrene, was condemned for extortion, and doomed to exile for his acts of barbarity.

During these transactions, the discontents of the soldiery were near flaming out into a sedition. They of the Prætorian Guards, who had been dismissed by Vitellius, and again incorporated for the interest of Vespasian, now claimed their former station. The soldiers who, upon hopes given them of the like distinction, had been drawn from the Legions, insisted upon the promise of the like preferment and pay. Nor in truth was it possible, without great slaughter, to have discarded the bands which had continued with Vitellius. Mucianus, therefore, proceeding to the Camp, directed the vanquishing army to be ranged along, with small intervals between the distinct bands, and all under their particular banners and arms, thence with more certainty to discern during what term of years they had severally served. Then the troops of Vitellius, such as I have recounted to have surrendered at Bovillæ, with the rest who had been discovered and picked up in Rome, and in the neighbourhood of Rome, were produced, almost destitute of arms. These he ordered to be parted; ordered the soldiers from Germany, the soldiers from Britain, and whatever men else there were from any other army, to stand by themselves apart: A scene which at first view struck them with sudden consternation, whilst opposite they beheld, as it were, an army arrayed for battle, terribly armed and displaying their weapons, and saw themselves surrounded, defenceless, in their plight despicable and sordid. But when they came to be divided, and haled hither and thither, terror spread over all. Signal particularly was the dismay of the German soldiers, as if such separation imported that they were destined to present massacre. Hence they embrace their comrades, hang upon their necks, desire a last and parting salute; implore 'that they might not be deserted and left

'alone

'alone; that where the cauſe was common and 'equal, they might not ſuffer a lot ſo particular 'and unequal.' This moment they preſſed and conjured Mucianus, the next they beſought Domitian, though not there: Anon they invoked Heaven, and all the Gods. Mucianus at laſt ſtayed their groundleſs fear, by telling them, 'That they 'were all ſworn to the ſame allegiance, all ſoldiers 'of the ſame Prince.' The truth is, that to theſe their tears and wailings even the vanquiſhing army joined ſympathiſing cries. Such was the iſſue that day. A few days after, as Domitian harangued them, they heard him with minds now re-eſtabliſhed and emboldened. His offer of lands, and a ſettlement, they confidently rejected; their former ſtations in the army, and their pay due, was what they prayed: A prayer indeed it was, but a prayer which admitted no denial. They were therefore received into the Prætorian Guards. Thereafter, ſuch as were aged, with ſuch who had ſerved their juſt number of years, were honourably diſmiſſed. Others were diſcharged for their miſdemeanours, but diſcharged by intervals, and culled out ſingly here and there; as the ſecureſt courſe to weaken the combination of a multitude.

For the reſt; it was moved in the Senate, 'to 'borrow from particulars the ſum of about fifteen 'hundred thouſand crowns;' whether from the real poverty of the State, or to have ſuch poverty believed: And to Poppæus Silvanus the care of procuring it was aſſigned. Yet ſoon after, ſuch public neceſſity diſappeared; at leaſt the pretence was dropped. Next there paſſed a law propoſed by Domitian, for abrogating the ſucceſſion of Conſulſhips beſtowed by Vitellius. To Flavius Sabinus alſo funeral honours were ſolemnized, with the ſame ſplendor and ſtate as if he had borne the great office of Cenſor: Glaring monuments of the ſignal

inſtability of Fortune, delighting thus to ſhift the lot of men, and to intermix the higheſt pomp and the loweſt miſery!

About the ſame time was ſlain Lucius Piſo, the Proconſul. This murder is what I ſhall very truly recount, by beginning further back, and deducing a few particulars pertinent to exhibit the introduction and cauſes of ſuch feats of iniquity. During the reign of the deified Auguſtus, and that of Tiberius, the forces maintained in Africa for defending the boundaries of the Empire there, namely the Legion and Auxiliaries, were ſubject to the authority of the Proconſul. Thereafter Caligula, a Prince of a wild and diſordered ſpirit, and entertaining beſide apprehenſions of Marcus Silanus, who held the government of Africa, deprived the Proconſul of the command of the Legion, and conferred it upon an Imperial Lieutenant purpoſely ſent over. Thus between two the meaſure of power was independently ſhared, and thence, as their orders came to claſh and interfere, the deſigned diſſenſion began, and was daily heightened by an obſtinate and angry ſtruggle of each to ſupport his own. In truth, the authority of the Imperial Lieutenants gained the predominance, either through their long continuance in office; or probably becauſe men in lower ſtations are more buſy and ſolicitous to emulate thoſe above them; whilſt all the Proconſuls moſt ſignal for eminence and quality, conſulted their own ſecurity and ſelf-preſervation much more carefully than the maintenance of their juriſdiction.

At the preſent juncture the Legion in Africa was commanded by Valerius Feſtus, a young man magnificent and profuſe, one who entertained very aſpiring deſigns, and indeed laboured under great anxiety becauſe of his near affinity to Vitellius. Whether in the frequent converſations which he had with Piſo, he tempted him to public innova-

tions, or rejected such temptation from Piso, is a matter of uncertainty; since at these their private interviews no man was present, and after the assassination of Piso, the most part inclined to judge favourably of the man who had slain him. Doubted it is not, that the temper of the Province, and of the soldiery in it, was averse to Vespasian. Moreover certain of Vitellius's party, having escaped from Rome, strongly represented to Piso, 'That all the 'Provinces of Gaul were fluctuating and disaffected; Germany was prepared and bent to espouse 'him; his own perils were evident and urging; 'and, in a dubious and suspected peace, safer it 'was to have recourse to war.' During these transactions, Claudius Sagitta, Commander of the Squadron of horse entituled *Petrina*, embarking for Africa, and forwarded by a quick passage, arrived there before Papirius the Centurion, one dispatched thither by Mucianus. Sagitta averred, 'That to 'the Centurion a warrant was given for putting 'Piso to death; that already Galerianus, his near 'kinsman and daughter's husband, had suffered his 'last doom; and only by adventuring upon some 'bold effort could he hope to save his own life. 'To pursue such an adventure two courses were 'offered to his choice, either instantly to assume 'arms, or to take shipping for Gaul, and there 'present himself as a leader to the armies of Vi-'tellius.' Whilst to all these reasonings Piso continued perfectly deaf and inflexible, the Centurion sent from Mucianus arrived; nor had he sooner reached the port of Carthage but with a mighty voice he proclaimed how all things continued propitious to Piso, and even that he was raised to the Empire. Nay, whomsoever he met, all astonished at a revolution so sudden and wonderful, he pressed to utter in loyal shouts the same glad tidings and congratulations. Forthwith into the place of pub-

lic aſſemblies ruſhed the populace, ever ill-judging and credulous, and required that they might ſee Piſo. With rejoicing and acclamations every place reſounded; ſo little curious were they to learn the truth, and ſuch was their abandoned appetite to flatter. Piſo, either influenced by the intelligence from Sagitta, or reſtrained by his natural modeſty, went not forth to appear in public, nor ſuffered himſelf to be accoſted with the greetings and acclamations of the crowd Having beſides ſifted the Centurion, as ſoon as he diſcovered, that the whole was a plot for drawing him into treaſon, and that his murder was intended, he commanded him to be executed. Nor to this was he ſo much prompted by any hopes of thence ſaving his own life, as by his abhorrence of the aſſaſſin; for that this very man, who had been one of the murderers of Clodius Macer, brought the ſame hands yet dyed in the blood of a General, to dip them again in that of a Proconſul. Having then by an edict, conceived in a ſtile of much grief, reprimanded the people of Carthage, he forbore even the ordinary functions of his office, continuing ſhut up at home, to avoid all occaſion, however fortuitous, of raiſing any freſh inſurrection.

But, as ſoon as Feſtus was apprized of the diſmay amongſt the populace, of the execution of the Centurion, with other tranſactions, ſome true, ſome falſe, all heightened according to the uſual amplifications of common fame, he forthwith diſpatched a party of horſe to ſlay Piſo. Theſe flew with rapidity, and before the morning had quite dawned, forced the houſe of the Proconſul with ſwords drawn. Nay the major part were ſtrangers to the perſon of Piſo; ſince, for perpetrating this murder, Feſtus had choſen certain Punic Auxiliaries and Moors. Not far from his chamber they happened to meet one of his ſlaves, and aſking him who he was, deſired him withal to ſhew them where to find Piſo.

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The slave answering with a glorious falshood, declared himself to be Piso, and was instantly butchered. Presently after they assassinated Piso; for amongst them was a man who knew him, even Bebius Massa, one of the Imperial Procurators in Africa, he who was already a busy instrument to destroy every excellent person, and will frequently recur to be mentioned amongst the causes of the calamities which we afterwards endured. Festus now removing from Adrumetum, where he had rested to learn the issue, proceeded to the Legion, and gave orders for committing to bonds the Camp Marshal, Cetronius Pisanus, purely to avenge a personal enmity; but openly charged him as a minister and confederate of Piso. Upon certain soldiers too, and particular Centurions, he bestowed chastisements; to others of them he ministered rewards; proceeding in both from no regard to justice or desert, but only like one who would claim the praise of having suppressed a war. Thereafter he extinguished the dissensions between the Œensians and Leptitanians, such as at first were occasioned by the pillaging of grain and cattle from the peasants, and from beginnings so small, rose to public armaments and combats. For the Œensians, who were fewer and inferior, had roused the Garamantes to their succour, a nation fierce and wild, and, amongst the circumjacent people, famous for continual robberies. Hence the Leptitanians became sorely pressed; insomuch that their territories being on every side laid waste, they were confined within their walled Towns, and even there urged with fear and distress, till by the opportune arrival of our bands of foot and horse, the Garamantes were put to flight, and all the spoil recovered, except what some of the plunderers straggling from the main body had carried away to their huts

amongſt the inacceſſible deſarts, and ſold to ſuch as lived in places far remote.

Now Veſpaſian when he had already received news of the victory at Cremona, already joyful tidings from all quarters, found many of all ranks and degrees daily arriving from Italy to acquaint him with the fate and fall of Vitellius. For, with equal boldneſs and good fortune, they had adventured to paſs the ſea amidſt the dangers and horrors of winter. Upon him there alſo attended Ambaſſadors from Vologeſus King of Parthia, with offers to aſſiſt him with forty thouſand Parthian horſe. A matter of great glory, and great pleaſure to be courted to accept ſuccours ſo mighty from theſe allies, and not to want them. To Vologeſus thanks were returned, with directions, that he ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to the Senate, and be made acquainted that the Commonwealth was re-eſtabliſhed in peace. Veſpaſian, whilſt he was bending all his thoughts towards Italy, and the affairs of Rome, heard evil and unpleaſing reports concerning Domitian, 'That 'he aſſumed more than became the greenneſs of 'his years, and exceeded the bounds and character 'ſuitable to a ſon only.' He therefore committed to Titus the principal forces of this army, in order to finiſh what remained of the war againſt the Jews. Of Titus it was ſaid, that ere he departed from his father, he pleaded with him in a long diſcourſe, 'to beware of being raſhly incenſed by intelligence 'from ſuch as brought criminal repreſentations. 'Towards his own ſon it were but juſt to bear a 'ſpirit of gentleneſs, free from all prejudice. Nor 'from Fleets, nor from Legions were ſuch powerful bulwarks and certain ſecurity found for the 'ſupport of Imperial Dignity, as from a numerous 'iſſue in the imperial Houſe. Our friends grew 'diminiſhed with time; they often deſerted us to follow

'follow Fortune, ſometimes renounced us through 'deſires which we could not gratify, or through 'ſuch miſtakes as we could not foreſee: But from 'his own blood no man could be ſevered; Princes 'above all men, could not, they who in their good 'fortune had others alſo to partake with them; 'whilſt to the neareſt in kindred it immediately 'appertained to bear their adverſities. In truth, 'even between brothers concord and unanimity 'would not prove laſting, where their common 'parent ſet them not firſt an example.' Veſpaſian, who by this reaſoning was not ſo much reconciled to Domitian, as charmed with the tender affection of Titus, willed him 'to be of good chear, and 'to ſtudy aggrandizing the Commonweal by war, 'and the exerciſe of arms: It ſhould be his own 'taſk to enſure public peace, and that of his fa-'mily.' He then put under ſail all his nimbleſt veſſels laden with grain, though the ſea continued ſtill boiſterous and high. For ſuch was the mighty danger and extremity which then threatened and alarmed Rome, that in all the public ſtores there remained not above ten days proviſion of corn, when the ſupply miniſtered by Veſpaſian arrived.

The care and office of reſtoring the Capitol he beſtowed upon Lucius Veſtinus, one in rank no higher than that of the Equeſtrian Order, but in public credit and eſtimation held amongſt the firſt Lords of Rome. By him were aſſembled the Sooth-ſayers, who directed, 'That the remains of the 'former Temple ſhould be removed from thence 'into the marſhes: Upon the ſame foundations the 'new one ſhould be raiſed: For its ancient form 'was what the Deities forbad to be varied.' Upon the twenty-firſt of June, a day which proved bright and fine, the whole ſpace of ground ſet apart for the Temple was incloſed with a cincture of ſacred fillets and chaplets. Into the circle paſſed ſuch ſol-

diers as were diſtinguiſhed by names which were eſteemed auſpicious, bearing in their hands boughs of the victorious laurel. Next the Veſtal Virgins, accompanied by a train of children male and female, ſuch as had fathers and mothers yet living, beſprinkled and purified the place with water drawn from the neighbouring ſprings, and running ſtreams. Then Helvidius Priſcus the Prætor, preceded by Plautius Ælianus the Pontif, ſanctified the floor with the ſacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull; and laying the entrails upon a ſod of earth, invoked 'Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and all the tutelar Deities 'of the Empire, that they would proſper the undertaking; that with their might, and influence 'divine, they would advance and crown theſe their 'own manſions, begun by the zeal and piety of 'men.' Having thus prayed, he reached his hands to the ſtrings, to which was faſtened a foundation-ſtone with the ropes to draw it; and inſtantly all the other Magiſtrates and Pontifs, the Senators, the Roman Knights, and great part of the People, jointly pulling, with common zeal and univerſal joy haled the vaſt ſtone to its place. Into the foundations on all hands were thrown pieces of ſilver and gold, and other metal, ſuch as had never endured the fire, but juſt as they were generated in the mine. The Soothſayers, in truth, had given premonition, 'That neither with ſtone nor with gold 'ever deſtined to other purpoſes, the work ſhould 'be profaned.' To the Temple nothing new except height was added. This variation alone was declared to be conformable to the will of the Deities; nay, this was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former Temple, a public Structure intended to contain ſuch an immenſe multitude of men.

The death of Vitellius the while, being divulged throughout Germany and Gaul, redoubled the fury of

of the war there. For, Civilis throwing off all diſguiſes, ruſhed into avowed hoſtilities againſt the Roman People. The Vitellian Legions would rather ſubmit even to ſervitude from ſtrangers, than bear the Sovereignty of Veſpaſian. The Gauls became ſpirited with mighty hopes and aſſurance, as they imagined that in all countries our armies were yielding to the ſame evil fortune. For a rumour flew, that 'by hoſts of Barbarians from Sarmatia 'and Dacia, our winter encampments in Mœſia 'and Pannonia were then beſieged.' The ſame diſtreſs we were ſaid, without ground, to be ſuffering in Britain. But nothing ſo ſtrongly moved them to believe the diſſolution of the Empire to be at hand, as the burning of the Capitol. 'The City, 'they ſaid, had of old been taken by the Gauls; 'but the manſion of Jove having eſcaped, the Em-'pire had thence continued to ſubſiſt.' The Druids too, actuated by an impulſe altogether ſuperſtitious and idle, chanted vain Oracles, 'That to the na-'tions beyond the Alps, the rule and controulment 'of human-kind were thus divinely portended.' It was moreover bruited abroad by flying fame, that the Grandees of Gaul, they who were ſent by Otho againſt his competitor Vitellius, had mutually combined before their departure, 'not to fail of at-'tempting the recovery of their liberty, if the Ro-'man People, through ſuch ſucceſſive civil wars, 'and repeated calamities, came once to be enfeebled 'and broken.'

Before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, there occurred no incident whence any conſpiracy might be learnt. After his aſſaſſination, conſtant communication and interagents paſſed between Civilis and Claſſicus, who commanded the Squadron of Treverian horſe. In nobleneſs and wealth Claſſicus ſurpaſſed all thoſe of his country: His deſcent was royal, and ſignal had been the luſtre of his race as

well in peace as in war. He himself made his boasts, that by his ancestors he was rather an enemy to the Roman People, than an assistant and ally. With him there associated Julius Tutor, and Julius Sabinus, this one of the Lingones, the former one of the Treverians. Tutor had been preferred by Vitellius to the charge of guarding the Rhine. Sabinus, besides that he was a man naturally vain, was intoxicated and inflamed with the imaginary glory of a fictitious descent, 'as if to his great 'grandmother, the deified Julius Cæsar, then war-'ing in Gaul, had proved an admirer and adulterer.' These three, in conferences secretly held, founded the minds of the rest. Then, having engaged as accomplices such whom they judged proper, they assembled together in a private house at Cologn; for in general that City detested such designs. Yet in the cabal were present certain Ubians and Tungrians. But amongst the Treverians, and the Lingones, was found the principal weight and sway. Nor could they brook any delay occasioned by debating and consulting: With one common consent and emulation they proclaimed, 'That the Romans were possessed with the mad-'ness of intestine rage, and destroying one another; 'the Legions were slaughtered, Italy laid desolate, 'nay, Rome itself taken by violence; all the Ro-'man armies engaged, each in a different war. 'Now, were the Alps secured, and their passes de-'fended by garrisons, and public liberty once fully 're-established, the people of Gaul might then de-'liberate how far they would chuse to push and ex-'tend their own power.'

At once pronounced and approved were these allegations. The only hesitation which occurred, was how to dispose of the residue of the Vitellian army. Many proposed to massacre all, as men altogether turbulent, altogether faithless, and contaminated with the blood of their Generals. But more

more prevalent was the conſideration offered for ſparing them, 'leſt upon ſeeing themſelves bereft 'of all hopes of mercy, deſpair ſhould rouſe them 'to vigour and vengeance. They were rather to 'be gently uſed, and thus inticed into the confede-'racy. Were only the Commanders of the Le-'gions put to the ſword, the mere crowd, then 'deſtitute of a head, conſcious of their guilt and 'crimes, and hoping for impunity, would eaſily be 'brought to join.' This was the ſubſtance of their firſt conſultation; and into all the Regions of Gaul incendiaries were diſpatched to rouſe them to war. To Vocula the while the accomplices feigned perfect obſequiouſneſs and duty, thence to ſurprize and overwhelm him unprepared Yet neither were there wanting ſome to apprize him of the conſpiracy. But what he wanted was force to repreſs the conſpirators; for thin of men were his Legions, and void of faith his men. Thus, between the faultering faith of his own ſoldiers, and a combination of ſecret enemies, he deemed it the ſureſt expedient in his preſent diſtreſs, to exerciſe diſſimulation alſo in his turn, and to purſue the ſame artifices with which he was purſued. With this view he repaired to Cologn. Thither fled Claudius Labeo, who having, as I have related, been taken and ſent under ward to Friſia, to be there remote from the convention holden in Batavia, had eſcaped by corrupting his guard. He now offered, 'were he furniſh-'ed with a band of men, to march into the ter-'ritories of the Batavians, and recover the princi-'pal part of their State to the intereſt and alliance 'of the Romans.' Having therefore received a moderate force of cavalry and foot, he only induced ſome Nervians and Betaſians to take arms, and againſt the Batavians ventured not upon the leaſt attempt. He likewiſe over-ran the Caninefates and

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Marſacians, in truth rather by ſurprize, and feats of plunder, than by regular war.

Vocula, incited and miſled by the treacherous Gauls, advanced directly againſt the enemy. He was already near the ancient encampment, when Claſſicus and Tutor, under colour of learning the motions of the enemy, marched forward before the hoſt, and at an interview with the German Leaders, ratified their mutual compact. Then ſeparating from the Legions for the firſt time, they raiſed a trench apart, and encamped by themſelves, in ſpite of all the adjurations of Vocula, who urged with earneſtneſs, 'That ſurely the Roman State was 'not ſo much rent and diſtreſſed by all her civil 'Wars, as to become the ſcorn of even the Treverians and Lingones. To the Romans ſtill remained many faithful Provinces, victorious Armies, the Fortune of the Empire, and the Gods 'armed with vengeance in their behalf. Thus had 'Sacrovir fallen, in times paſt, together with the 'revolting Æduans; thus more lately had Vindex 'and the Gauls, ſo many foes in ſo many encounters. Now again muſt they who thus wantonly 'violated the ſacred bonds of leagues, expect the 'ſame heavy doom, with the wrath of the ſame 'angry Deities. Better than the late Emperors 'had the deified Julius, better too had the deified 'Auguſtus known their ſpirit. The benignity of 'Galba, and reduction of their tribute, had but 'inſpired them with freſh malignity, and hoſtile 'deſigns. Becauſe they had been holden in gentle 'ſubjection, they had now recourſe to open enmity. As ſoon as they were routed, ſacked, and 'impoveriſhed, they would again be our friends.' When with great aſperity and vehemence he had uttered theſe expreſſions, and afterwards perceived that Claſſicus and Tutor perſevered in their defection and treaſon, he returned back again, and proceeded

ceeded to Novesium. Two miles distant from thence the Gauls pitched in the open fields. Thither incessantly resorted our soldiers and Centurions, and there their venal spirits were purchased at a price. They even bargained to perpetrate an abomination prodigious and new, that they, a Roman Army, should swear solemn fealty to Foreigners; nay, give earnest of an iniquity so huge and flagrant, by shedding the blood of their General Officers, or by delivering them up under chains. Vocula, though by many persuaded to fly, judged it becoming him to dare danger, and therefore assembling the soldiery, reasoned on this wise:

'Upon no occasion have I ever entertained you 'with any discourse of mine, either under higher 'anxiety for you, or greater calm and security with-'in myself. For, that against me you have con-'certed a tragical doom, is what I hear with chear-'fulness, and amidst so many calamities from our 'enemies, await death as the welcome close and 'issue of my miseries. But for you I am filled 'with shame, filled with compassion; you who are 'now threatened by no impending combat, you 'against whom no host is now arrayed. Since 'this, in truth, were no more than the ordinary 'lot of arms, no more than the universal usage of 'hostile armies. Alas! with your hands and swords 'Classicus hopes to maintain a war against the Ro-'man People: Nay, he boasts a new Empire of 'the Gauls, and that thither your allegiance is 'transferred. Suppose Fortune has at present fail-'ed you, and your bravery forsaken you; are there 'not examples of old to rouse you, how often the 'Roman Legions made it their choice rather to 'perish than to be driven from the post which they 'were to maintain? Often have even our confede-'rates endured, upon our account, to have their 'native cities sacked and overthrown, endured to

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'be burnt themſelves, with their tender wives and 'children, in one common conflagration. Nor 'other conſideration had they for ſuffering a fate 'ſo tragical, than to preſerve inviolate their faith, 'and their fame. Signal at this inſtant is the pa-'tience exerciſed by our own Legions at the an-'cient encampment: They are preſſed with fa-'mine, preſſed with a ſiege; yet ſtill perſiſt un-'ſhaken by alarming terrors, or by alluring pro-'miſes. To us here, beſides the ſtrength of men 'and arms, beſides the defence and noble bulwarks 'of our Camp, there remain ſtores of grain, ſtores 'of proviſion, ſuch as would laſt even during a 'long war. Treaſure was lately found, abundant 'to diſcharge even the public Donative; which, 'whether you chuſe to conſtrue it as preſented by 'Veſpaſian, or by Vitellius, is ſurely a largeſs to 'you from the Roman Emperor. For you who 'have proved victorious in ſo many wars, for you 'who have ſo often routed the enemy, at Gelduba, 'at the ancient encampment, in ſo many encoun-'ters, to dread coming to a combat were indeed 'degenerate and unworthy: Yet, if you fear it, 'you may avoid it. You have ramparts and walls, 'and there are ſtratagems for gaining time, till 'from the adjacent Provinces bodies of Auxiliaries 'and compleat Armies arrive at once to relieve us. 'Be it ſo, that in me you find ground for diſtaſte: 'You have ſtill other General Officers, you have 'your Tribunes; nay, there are Centurions, or 'even common Men, whence to make choice. 'Only let not a ſtory ſo monſtrous be divulged over 'the face of the earth, that Civilis and Claſſicus 'are invading Italy with you for their champions 'and ſupport. Were the Germans and Gauls to 'lead you againſt the walls of Rome, would you 'indeed like public enemies fight againſt your Coun-'try? Horror ſeizes my ſoul whilſt to myſelf I repre-

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'sent an abomination so enormous and shocking. 'For Tutor, a Treverian, as for a Roman General, shall nightly guards be pompously posted? 'Shall a Batavian give the word in the Camp, a 'Batavian the signal for battle? Will you supply, 'as recruits, the German hosts? What will prove 'the end of such unnatural wickedness? When 'against you the Roman Legions shall advance embattled, will you then, from having deserted to 'the enemy, desert back again? Of old traitors to 'the Empire, will you become new traitors to 'your present friends, and thus distracted and intangled between old oaths and new, be miserably 'agitated to and fro by opposite inclinations and 'ties, pursued all the while by the vengeance of 'the angry Deities? Upon thee, O *Jupiter*, all 'Good, all Great, upon thee whose glory during 'a tract of eight hundred and twenty years, we 'have by the celebration of so many triumphs pursued; as also upon thee, *Romulus*, Parent of Rome, 'I with adoration call, that if it be not your will 'that under my command this Camp be preserved 'from all profanation and stain, at least suffer it 'not to be vitiated and unhallowed by Tutor and 'Classicus. To the Roman soldiers grant hearts 'intirely innocent, or timely and guiltless remorse.'

Various was the reception which this speech found, according to the different operations of hope, and fear and shame in the hearers. Vocula, having retired, was preparing to put a present period to his life, but by his freedmen and slaves restrained from preventing with his own hands an impending death altogether ignominious. Moreover Classicus hastened his murder by the means of Æmilius Longinus, a deserter from the first Legion, purposely sent. Upon Herennius and Numisius, Commanders of Legion, he judged it sufficient to inflict no more than bonds. After this he passed into the Camp,

Camp, inveſted with the decorations of a Roman Ruler. But even Claſſicus, though hardened to all feats of iniquity, found words and elocution to fail him, nor could he do more than juſt recite the new oath. All who were preſent ſwore allegiance to the ſovereignty and empire of the Gauls. Upon the murderer of Vocula he conferred a higher rank in the ſervice, and upon others proper rewards, according as each had ſignalized himſelf in deeds of infamy. Between Tutor and Claſſicus was ſhared the charge of adminiſtring the war. Tutor at the head of a powerful band begirt Cologn, and obliged the inhabitants to take the ſame oath, as he did all the ſoldiers who lay further up the Rhine: For at Magontiacum the Tribunes and Camp-Marſhal having refuſed it, the former he ſlew, the other he drove from thence. Claſſicus culling out every the moſt notorious profligate from amongſt thoſe who had gone over to the enemy, ordered them to 'proceed to the ancient encampment, and upon 'the men beſieged there to preſs the tempting offer 'of full pardon and mercy, if they would comply 'with the preſent meaſures: otherwiſe, they had 'no reſource of hope. Devouring famine, and the 'raging ſword, with the laſt and moſt unrelenting 'miſeries, was what they muſt expect and endure.' To this meſſage they who were ſent added the argument and influence of their own example.

Hither and thither the beſieged found themſelves ſwayed between honour and ignominy, here inſpired by faith and duty, there urged by pinching want. During this their heſitation their proviſions failed them, not only the ordinary, but even ſuch as were extraordinary. For, having quite conſumed in food their horſes, their beaſts of burden, and other animals, which, however abominable and impure, neceſſity had converted into uſe and ſuſtenance; they at laſt ſupported themſelves by plucking ſhrubs and plants,

plants, and picking the herbs which ſprouted amongſt the ſtones of the walls; and indeed ſhewed themſelves glaring inſtances of wretchedneſs and patience; till upon ſo much glory they brought a foul ſtain by an iſſue very infamous, in ſending deputies to Civilis to implore their lives. Neither were theſe their ſupplications received till they had firſt ſworn homage and fidelity to the Gauls. He ſtipulated for the plunder of the Camp, then aſſigned guards to detain and ſecure the money, ſlaves and baggage, with others for a convoy to the men, who were departing thus diveſted of all. When they had travelled about five miles, the Germans ruſhed upon them, and aſſailed them in their march, utterly unapprized of danger. All the remarkably brave fell fighting upon the ſpot; many were ſlain flying and diſperſed. The remainder fled back to the Camp. It muſt be owned, Civilis made ſore complaint, and upbraided the Germans, 'That by 'this cruel proceeding they had violated their plight-'ed faith.' Whether ſuch reſentment were feigned, or whether he really could not contain theſe violent men delighting in blood, is a doubt not eaſily reſolved. When they had ſacked and pillaged the Camp, they threw in fire-brands and ſet it on a blaze; and ſuch as by eſcaping ſurvived the late conflict, were every man now devoured by the flames.

Civilis, who, in purſuance of a barbarous vow, had ſuffered his hair to grow ever ſince he had taken up arms againſt the Romans, having now accompliſhed the ſlaughter of the Legions, cut ſhort his long locks, lank and red. Nay, it was reported that to his ſon yet very young he preſented ſome of the priſoners, to be by him pierced with arrows ſhot, and javelins darted, of ſuch ſize as was fit for the diverſion of a child. For the reſt, he neither ſwore himſelf, nor made any Batavian ſwear fealty

fealty to the Gauls: For he relied upon the great power of the Germans, and concluded, that ſhould it prove neceſſary to have a ſtruggle with the Gauls for the ſupreme rule, he himſelf excelled in warlike renown, and had ſuperior claim. Mummius Lupercus, Commander of a Legion, was, with many other gifts, ſent away to be preſented to Veleda, a virgin, who was a native Bructerian, and ruled over a territory of wide extent. Such is the ancient uſage of the Germans, as they imagine that in many of their women a ſpirit of divination dwells; and, as ſuperſtition is ever progreſſive and growing, they come to think them Deities. At that very juncture, the reverence and credit of Veleda were greatly advanced; for that, to the Germans ſhe had propheſied all ſucceſs, and to our Legions utter deſtruction. In the journey thither Lupercus was ſlain: A few Tribunes and Centurions, ſuch as had been born in Gaul, were ſaved and reſerved as pledges of public faith and alliance. The winter encampments of the auxiliary Cohorts, thoſe of the auxiliary Horſe, and thoſe of the Legions, were razed and burned: Indeed none were left but that at Magontiacum, and that at Vindoniſſa.

To the thirteenth Legion, as alſo to the auxiliary troops which had with it gone over to the enemy, orders were given to retire from Noveſium into the Colony of the Treverians, and a particular day was limited for their leaving the Camp. The interval they paſſed under agitations and anxieties many and various. Terrified were all the moſt daſtardly by the fate of thoſe maſſacred at the ancient encampment. The more valuable part were ſtruck with confuſion, and a ſenſe of infamy, when they reflected, 'What kind of march they had to make, 'under whoſe conduct they were to be led; and 'that all remained in the mere will and option of

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'such as they had over themselves created Lords of 'life and death.' Others, utterly insensible of any shame or disgrace, stowed about them their money, or whatever else they prized most. Some prepared their arms, and accoutred themselves, as if they had been proceeding to battle. Whilst in these thoughts their minds were employed, the hour of their departure came, and sadder it proved than their own sorrowful presages. For, within the circuit of the entrenchment the deformity of their condition was not so manifest and remarkable. By drawing them out into the fields, under the open day, their reproach became evident and notorious. From the standards were taken down the Images of the Roman Emperors: The Roman Ensigns were neglected and obscure, while on every side were seen refulgent the Banners of the Gauls. In heavy silence marched the wretched host, like a multitude solemnizing a funeral in a train long and mournful. For their Head and Leader they had Claudius Sanctus, one bereft of an eye, in his countenance hideous and truculent, in his faculties still more defective and impotent. The ignominy became redoubled by the accession of the other Legion, who had evacuated their Camp at Bonn. Moreover, as the rumour flew that the Legions were led captive, all they who lately trembled at the bare name of the Romans, ran impatiently from the fields, out of their houses, and on all hands flocked in crowds to behold a spectacle thus surprizing and new, and indeed shewed themselves delighted with it beyond measure. These rejoicings and insults of the petulant populace, were what the Squadron of horse entitled *Picentina* could not bear: So that despising the fair promises of Sanctus, as well as his menaces, they went off directly to Magontiacum. In their way they happened to meet Longinus, (him who butchered Vocula) and covering the assassin with darts

darts and wounds, they thus made a ſtep towards expiating hereafter their own faults and defection. The Legions, without offering in the leaſt to change their rout, proceeded, and encamped under the walls of the Treverians.

Civilis and Claſſicus, elated with a torrent of good fortune, had it under deliberation, whether to reſign the city of Cologn to be ſacked by their armies. From the ſavageneſs of their ſpirit, and their avidity of plunder, they were prompted to the pillage and deſtruction of the town. What withſtood them, was the policy of war, and that they aimed at the renown of clemency, ſo uſeful and important to ſuch as are erecting a new Empire. Civilis too was ſoftened by the memory of a particular obligation, for that, upon the firſt riſe of the public combuſtions, the people of that Colony having ſeized his ſon amongſt them, had treated him under his confinement with great honour and courteſy. But the nations beyond the Rhine bore towards that city notable animoſity and hate, for its ſignal opulence and increaſe: Nor, in their opinion, could the war be otherwiſe ended, than by rendering it a place of free reſort to all Germans in common, or by laying it quite waſte, and thence diſperſing the whole clan of the Ubians. The Tencterians, therefore, a people ſeparated from Cologn by the Rhine, ſent Deputies thither, with orders to declare their embaſſy to the common aſſembly of the city: And in the following ſtrain the ſterneſt of the Deputies pronounced it.

'For your return into the name and community 'of the Germans, we preſent our thanks to our 'common Deities, and to Mars the principal Deity. 'To you alſo we bring congratulations, that at 'length you will live like freemen amongſt the free. 'For, till now, the Romans had hemmed in lands 'and rivers, nay, in ſome ſort, the very air and

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'sky, purposely to cut off all communication and 'intercourse between you and us, or to subject us 'to an indignity still more contumelious to men 'born for war, that of coming amongst you strip-'ed of our arms, as it were almost naked, under 'a guard, and obliged to pay duty. Now in or-'der to have this our mutual friendship secured and 'established for ever, we desire of you to demolish 'these bonds and ramparts of your servitude, the 'walls of your City. Even beasts that are na-'turally savage and wild if you hold them con-'fined, are brought to so get their boldness and 'vigour. We desire you to massacre all the Ro-'mans within your territories: Hard to be recon-'ciled is popular liberty with lordly Masters. We 'desire you, when you have finished the slaughter, 'to apply all their goods to the common lot and 'benefit, nor to suffer ought to be concealed, or 'appropriated by particulars to their own separate 'advantage. We desire that to us. as well as to 'you, it may be allowed to inhabit both sides of 'the Rhine, as of old it was to our forefathers. 'Nature with the same equal hand, that upon all 'men bestows the universal blessing of light and 'day, has also given to such as are brave, a right of 'possessing all lands and regions wheresoever found. 'Resume the native institutions of your country, 'resume the hereditary usages of Germans, by shak-'ing off all foreign luxury and voluptuousness, to 'which the Romans owe, much more than to their 'arms, the establishment of their power over sub-'dued nations. Then, like a people in their pri-'mitive purity, and prime vigour, and forgetting 'all bondage, you will at least live independently 'yourselves, or perhaps bear rule over others.'

The inhabitants of Cologn, after they had taken time for consultation, when they found that it was neither

neither conſiſtent with their dread of future dangers, to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, nor with their preſent ſituation to reject them openly, made anſwer on this wiſe: 'The firſt occaſion preſented 'for aſſerting our liberty, we have ſnatched with 'more ardour than precaution, on purpoſe to be 'joined in union with you and the other Germans 'our brethren. To the walls of our City, inſtead 'of throwing them down, much ſafer it is to add 'new ſtrength, whilſt againſt us the armies of the 'Romans are thus terribly aſſembling. If within 'our borders any foreigners out of Italy or the 'Provinces have at any time been found; ſuch the 'war hath conſumed, or they are fled ſeverally 'home. Of all thoſe who were tranſplanted hi-'ther of old, and are linked with us by intermar-'riages, as alſo of their deſcendents, this is the 'native country. Neither do we eſteem you ſo 'mercileſs and unjuſt, as to require us to ſlay our 'parents, our brothers, and our children. All taxes, 'all duties charged upon commerce, we declare to 'be cancelled and aboliſhed. Communication and 'reſort hither we grant you free and unguarded, 'yet only during the day, and all arms apart, till 'ſuch time as theſe rules and inſtitutions, yet new 'and tender, ripen into age by daily habit and 'uſage. For common judges between us we will 'have recourſe to Civilis and Veleda: Before them 'the compact ſhall be ratified.' When the Tencterians were thus mollified, Embaſſadors were ſent, with preſents, to Civilis and Veleda, and from them obtained all things purſuant to the wiſhes of the people of Cologn. But to appear in the preſence of Veleda, or to ſpeak to her, was refuſed them. They were debarred from beholding her, thence to gain to her perſon higher veneration and awe. She herſelf remained ſhut up in a high tower. Thither one

one purpoſely choſen from amongſt her kindred, carried what the conſultants propoſed, and thence brought her anſwers, like the miniſter and interpreter of a Deity.

Civilis ſeeing his power increaſed by an alliance with the people of Cologn, determined to gain the neighbouring Cities, or to make war upon ſuch as oppoſed him. As he had already won the country of the Sunicians, and formed their young men into Cohorts; to prevent his further acquiſitions Claudius Labeo, at the head of a band of Betaſians, Tungrians, and Nervians, ſuddenly raiſed, ſet himſelf to withſtand him. Labeo confided in the ſituation of his poſt; for he had before ſeized the bridge upon the river Maes: And as long as the encounter continued in the paſs, the iſſue was uncertain, till the Germans ſwimming acroſs, aſſailed him in the rear. Civilis withal flung himſelf into the band of the Tungrians, and whether through intrepidity, or by agreement and colluſion he did it, declared with an extended voice; 'We have not therefore 'had recourſe to war, that the Batavians and Treverians might exerciſe dominion over theſe nations. Far from us be ſuch preſumption. Receive us only upon terms of alliance. To you 'I commit myſelf without conditions, whether you 'chuſe me for your Leader, or diſpoſe of me as a 'common ſoldier.' With this ſpeech the crowd were ſtruck, and all ſheathed their ſwords, when preſently Campanus and Juvenalis, two Chiefs amongſt the Tungrians, ſurrendered him the whole nation. Labeo, ere he was quite beſet, eſcaped. To Civilis alſo ſubmitted the Betaſians and Nervians, and to his other forces he joined them. He was thus become mighty in ſway, ſince the ſeveral States were either awed by his power, or willing to follow his fortune.

Julius Sabinus, the while, having despitefully pulled down and broken the public Tables containing the Confederacy with Rome, caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*, and leading a huge and tumultuous host of his countrymen, suddenly invaded the Sequanians, an adjacent State persevering in its fidelity to us. Nor were the Sequanians averse to fight him. To the juster cause fortune proved propitious. The Lingones were routed. Their Leader Sabinus, who with notable rashness had proceeded to battle, with equal cowardice and affright fled from it; nay, in order to raise a report that he had perished, he set on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled. There he was believed to have suffered a voluntary death. But by what singular artifices he lurked, and thence saved his life yet for nine years, I shall hereafter recount, as also the unshaken constancy of his friends, with the signal example shewn by Epponia his wife. By the victory of the Sequanians the fury of the war was stayed. The several States began by degrees to recover coolness and judgment, to consider mutual right and the obligation of treaties, the rest following the example of that of Rheims: This people published over all the Provinces of Gaul a proposal and invitation, 'for assembling their several Deputies, to consult, which conduced most to the 'good of the whole, Liberty or Peace.'

At Rome these transactions were all represented worse than they were, and filled Mucianus with anguish. For, though he had already chosen two signal Commanders, Gallus Annius, and Petilius Cerialis, he feared that they would scarce be able to bear the weight of the war. Neither was it safe to leave the City without a ruler. He dreaded the spirit of Domitian, pursuing his head-strong lusts. He distrusted Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus,

as

as above I have related. Varus, who commanded the Prætorian Guards, was thence veſted with power and arms. Him Mucianus diſplaced, and, as ſome ſolacement for his loſs, ſet him over the public ſtores of grain. Moreover, to mollify Domitian, who wanted not affection for Varus, he beſtowed the Command of the Guards upon Arretinus Clemens, one nearly allied to the houſe of Veſpaſian, and very dear to Domitian. He urged, 'That 'under the Emperor Caligula, the father of Ar-'retinus had glorioufly diſcharged the ſame truſt: 'It was a name well-pleaſing to the ſoldiery; 'and though he were by rank a Senator, he was 'equal to both functions.' In the intended expedition were employed all men of eminent quality in the City; as were others through application and intereſt: And now Domitian and Mucianus equipped themſelves for war, with ſpirits very different; the former preſſing and impatient from views of his own, and the fire of youth; the latter deviſing procraſtinations and delays, thence to check his ardour, leſt, following the impetuoſity of his age, and inſtigated by miſchievous prompters, were he once maſter of the army, he might diſconcert all meaſures, whether for peace or war. There were led over the Alps the ſixth and eighth Legions, theſe who had lately proved conquerors, as alſo the one and twentieth of the Vitellian Legions, and the ſecond of the new levies, by different routs, ſome over the Penine and Cottian mountains, ſome over the Graian. From Britain was called away the fourteenth Legion; as from Spain were the ſixth and tenth. The Cities therefore of the Gauls, quickned by the tidings which flew of the advance of the army, and diſpoſed of themſelves to gentler counſels, aſſembled at Rheims. There waited here Embaſſadors from the Treverians, particulary Tullius Valentinus, an incendiary vehemently exciting

war. He, in an harangue purposely framed, vented a torrent of all the grievances and evils commonly objected to great empires, with many contumelies and odious imputations upon the Romans; for he had a turbulent spirit, fit to rouse insurrections, and was favoured by many for his intemperate eloquence.

But Julius Auspex, one of the Chiefs in the State of Rheims, displayed at large the might of the Romans, and the blessings of peace, shewed, 'That 'war might be undertaken even by the spiritless and 'cowardly, but must be conducted at the peril of 'all the active and brave, and that already over 'their heads hung the terrour and vengeance of the 'Legions.' He thus restrained all who had superior prudence, by the motives of reverence and allegiance, all the younger men by those of danger and fear. Thus they extolled the magnanimity of Valentinus, but followed the counsel of Auspex. Towards the Treverians and Lingones it is certain it proved matter of disgust and objection amongst the Gauls, that in the insurrection of Vindex, they had adhered to Verginius. From pursuing a general confederacy many were deterred by the mutual jealousy and competition of the several Provinces. It was asked, 'Where must be the head of the war? 'Whither must they recur for supreme authority 'and the direction of the Auspices? and, should 'all their pursuits prosper, what place would they 'chuse for the seat of Empire?' No victory had they gained, yet already were they jarring. Some boasted their alliances, some their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and from all these each claimed superior prerogative and rule. From their anxiety about future uncertainties and events, they at last agreed to acquiesce in their present condition. To the Treverians letters were written in the name of the States of Gaul, 'to lay down their arms

'whilst

'whilſt their pardon was yet to be procured, and 'their friends ready to intercede for them, if they 'manifeſted remorſe.' This counſel the ſame Valentinus oppoſed; and againſt it ſhut the ears of his Nation; not that he was ſo intent upon providing for war, as aſſiduous in popular harangues.

In truth, nor Treverians nor Lingones, nor others of the revolted nations, acted ſuitably to the mighty peril and difficulty which they had ventured to encounter. Even their Leaders united not to promote the common intereſt: Civilis was tracing the Belgic deſarts, with deſign to take Claudius Labeo, or to drive him away. Claſſicus was moſtly immerſed in ſloth and eaſe, as if his Monarchy were eſtabliſhed in ſecurity, and he were thus enjoying it. Nor, indeed, did Tutor haſten to fortify with garriſons the upper bank of the Rhine, no more than the ridges and paſſes of the Alps. During all this the twenty-firſt Legion forced an entrance by the way of Vindoniſſa, as did Sextilius Felix with the auxiliary Cohorts through Rhœtia. To theſe there joined themſelves the Squadron of horſe entitled the *Singular*, who had been formerly called to the aſſiſtance of Vitellius, and then eſpouſed the party of Veſpaſian. Over them commanded Julius Briganticus, ſiſter's ſon to Civilis, hated by his uncle and hating him: Such uſually are the enmities of relations, of all others the keeneſt. Tutor to his Treverian forces, already augmented by a freſh levy of the Vangiones, Ceracatians and Tribocians, added a reinforcement of Veteran foot and horſe. Theſe legionary ſoldiers, debauched by promiſes, or vanquiſhed by fear, at firſt ſlew a Cohort ſent before the reſt by Sextilius Felix, but anon ſeeing the Roman Leaders and Armies approach, by an honourable deſertion returned again to us. Their example was followed by the Tribocians, the Vangiones and Ceracatians. Tutor accompanied by the Treve-

rians, avoiding Magontiacum, retired to Bingium, confiding in the ſituation of the place, for that he had broken the bridge upon the river Nava. But by the Cohorts who, under the conduct of Sextilius, purſued him and had diſcovered a ford, he was ſurprized and routed. By this defeat the Treverians were thoroughly ſtruck and humbled. The common ſort caſt away their arms, and ſtraggled over the fields. Some of their Chiefs, to appear the firſt who had renounced the war, repaired for ſanctuary to the cities which had not relinquiſhed their alliance with Rome. The Legions, whom I have above related to have been removed from Noveſium and Bonn to the State of the Treverians, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to Veſpaſian. Theſe tranſactions happened in the abſence of Valentinus. As he haſted to return, full of rage, and bent upon reviving univerſal confuſion and calamity, the Legions withdrew to the Mediomatricians, a people confederate with us. Valentinus and Tutor urged the Treverians again to arms, and cauſed Herennius and Numiſius, Commanders of Legions, to be ſlain, thence to ſtrengthen the common band of iniquity and guilt, by precluding all hopes of pardon.

Such was the ſtate of the war, when Petilius Cerialis arrived at Magontiacum. By his arrival, confident hopes were raiſed. He himſelf, paſſionate for fighting, and rather brave in deſpiſing the enemy than circumſpect to ward againſt them, by the boldneſs and defiance of his language fired the minds of the ſoldiery: For he reſolved, on the firſt occaſion of meeting the enemy, to proceed without delay to battle. The levies made amongſt the Gauls he ſent home again to their reſpective cities, with orders to declare there, 'That for the defence of 'the Roman Empire the Roman Legions ſufficed.

'Our

'Our allies might return to the eaſe and occupations of peace, in the ſame ſecurity as if the war were ended, ſince the Roman bands had now undertaken it.' This behaviour augmented the duty and ſubmiſſion of the Gauls. For, having recovered again the youth of their country, they bore with the greater patience the exaction of Tribute. They indeed proved the more obſequious for being contemned. But Civilis and Claſſicus, when they learnt, that Tutor was defeated, the Treverians ſlaughtered, all things proſperous to their enemies, were under great hurry and affright, and gathering together their ſcattered forces warned Valentinus the while, by repeated meſſages, not to risk the whole cauſe in a battle. Hence with the more rapidity Cerialis moved; and having ſent certain perſons into the region of the Mediomatricians, with directions to lead the Legions there by a ſhorter way againſt the foe, he drew into one body whatever ſoldiers he found at Magontiacum, with all that he had brought over the Alps, and in three marches reached Rigodulum; a place where Valentinus, with a numerous band of Treverians, was poſted, defended and encloſed by the mountains and the river Moſelle. He had beſides added deep trenches, with barricades of huge ſtones. Theſe bulwarks daunted not the Roman General, nor ſtayed him from ordering the foot to force a paſſage, nor from leading the horſe in battle array up the hill, in contempt of the enemy, as men who were levied at random, and could derive no ſuch aid from their ſituation, but that his would find ſtill more in their own bravery. In mounting the aſcent ſome ſmall ſtay was found, from the great flight of the enemies miſſive weapons. The moment they cloſed hand to hand they were thrown down, and tumbled like the ruins of a falling edifice. More-

over, part of the cavalry wheeling round the more level brows of the mountain, took the moſt illuſtrious Belgians, and amongſt them Valentinus the General.

Cerialis on the day following entered the Colony of the Treverians, and the ſoldiers were paſſionate for deſtroying the City, for that 'this was the 'birth-place of Claſſicus, this that of Tutor; men 'by whoſe barbarous wickedneſs the Legions were 'beſieged and ſlain. What guilt ſo mighty had 'Cremona incurred, a City eraſed from the bo'ſom of Italy only for having poſtponed for a ſingle 'night the glory of the conquerors? Upon the 'hoſtile borders of Germany ſtood this Capital un'touched, nay, triumphing in the ſpoils, triumph'ing in the ſlaughter of our armies and Com'manders. The plunder of the place let the Ex'chequer reap. To themſelves, to the ſoldiers, 'the conflagration of the place and utter ruin of 'a Colony ſo rebellious, would be abundant ſa'tisfaction, ſuch as would compenſate the loſs and 'deſtruction of ſo many Camps.' Cerialis dreading infamy to himſelf, ſhould he be thought to inure the ſoldiery to licentiouſneſs and cruelty, rebuked their rage, and they obeyed; for ſince the civil wars had ceaſed, they were more tractable and obſervant in ſuch as were foreign. From this bent another object diverted their attention, even the miſerable aſpect of the Legions called from the State of the Mediomatricians. Sad and dejected they ſtood, filled with compunction for their ignominy and crimes, their eyes unmoveably fixt upon the ground. Between the two armies, when they joined, no mutual ſalutation enſued. To ſuch as offered them conſolation, to thoſe who exhorted them to be of good chear, they made no anſwer, ſeeking to hide themſelves in their tents, and flying the light.

Nor

Nor so much through peril or apprehension were they thus confounded, as through shame and dishonour. Under consternation too remained the other body, they who had just been conquerors. As by arguments therefore and supplications they durst not intercede for themselves, they implored their pardon by silence and weeping, till Cerialis pacified their minds. He urged, 'That whatever 'had happened through the turbulence of the soldiers, the dissention of their Commanders, or the 'wicked artifices of their enemies, had been no 'other than the inevitable operations of fate. This 'day they must consider as the first day of their 'warfare and allegiance. Their offences past neither the Emperor nor himself would remember.' They were then received into the same Camp, and through every company an order was published, that upon any contest or dispute, no one should presume to reproach his fellow-soldiers with any past insurrection or defeat. Anon having assembled the Treverians and Lingones, he spoke to them in the following strain.

'The faculty of eloquence I never cultivated; 'and it is only by arms that I have asserted and 'maintained the magnanimity of the Romans. But 'since with you words are found of such exceeding weight; since good and evil are not estimated 'by their qualities and nature, but by the clamours 'of incendiaries; I determine to offer you a few 'considerations, which, since the war is dissipated, 'may be more advantageous for you to hear, than 'for us to have explained. Into your territories 'and those of the other Gauls the Roman Commanders entered not from any avidity or passion 'of their own, but at the earnest suit of your ancestors then urged by intestine quarrels carried on 'even to common ruin and desolation. Nay, the

'Germans, called in for ſuccours, had faſtened the
'yoke of ſervitude upon friends and enemies, with-
'out diſtinction. Abundantly apparent it is and
'glaring, in how many battles we have encoun-
'tered the Cimbrians and Teutones, with what in-
'finite fatigue and diſtreſs to our armies, as well
'as with what ſucceſs, we have conducted ſo many
'German wars. Nor do we therefore guard the
'Rhine, that by it we may ſecure Italy; but only
'to prevent another Arioviſtus from gaining the
'Sovereignty over the Gauls. Do you believe
'yourſelves dearer to Civilis and the Batavians,
'dearer to the nations beyond the Rhine, than
'were your fathers and grandfathers to the anceſtors
'of theſe? For the deſcent of the Germans into
'the Provinces of Gaul, the ſame motives will be
'for ever ſubſiſting, even the gratification of their
'appetites, their avarice, their fondneſs of chang-
'ing ſeats, that, forſaking their own marſhes and
'deſarts, they may poſſeſs this your fine and fertile
'ſoil, and you with it. But they tempt you with
'Liberty, with fine pretences and fine names. Nor
'did ever man thirſt for dominion to himſelf and
'to put bonds upon others, without employing the
'ſame popular ſounds. Tyrants and wars there
'ever were amongſt the Gauls, till you ſubmitted
'to our juriſdiction. We, however frequently pro-
'voked by you, have never exerciſed the right of
'conquerors further over you, than juſt to enjoin
'you what we found neceſſary for maintaining pub-
'lic peace. For, neither can nations be main-
'tained in repoſe without arms, nor arms without
'ſoldiers and pay, nor pay without tribute. In all
'other matters, your lot is the ſame with ours. It
'is you that frequently command our Legions, it
'is you that adminiſter theſe Provinces as well as
'other Provinces. From you we keep nothing diſ-
'tinct,

'tinct, nothing withholden. From the reign too 'of princes popular and beloved you derive equal 'benefit with us, however remote you live; and 'cruel princes are always ready to discharge their 'fury upon those who are neareſt. With the same 'patience that you bear a barren season or tempes- 'tuous rains, and other natural calamities, learn 'to bear the prodigality or avarice of your Sove- 'reigns. Vices there will be as long as there are 'men: Yet such misfortunes are not perpetual, and 'by the intervention and return of a better lot, 'compensation is made. Unless, perhaps, you hope 'for gentler rule under the reign of Tutor and 'Classicus, and that, with impositions lighter than 'the present, armies will be raised and maintained, 'such as are able to repulse the Britons and Ger- 'mans. For were (what the Gods forbid) the Ro- 'mans expulsed, what else must succeed but uni- 'versal war of nation against nation? By propi- 'tious fortune and good discipline for a course of 'eight hundred years, has this frame of Empire 'been settled into compactness and strength, nor 'can it be rent asunder without bringing destruc- 'tion upon such as rend it. But to you Gauls, of 'all men, the greatest danger is threatened, you 'who possess gold and wealth, things which are 'the strongest temptations to war. Hence you ought 'to love peace and cultivate it, to love and reve- 'rence Rome, a City from which we possess in 'common, the vanquished and vanquishers, the 'same equal privileges and protection. Take warn- 'ing from experience, from your trial of both for- 'tunes, and yield not to a spirit of revolt followed 'by destruction, rather than to the duty of sub- 'mission accompanied with security.' With this discourse he calmed and encouraged them; for they were apprehending a chastisement very severe.

The conquering army were yet in poſſeſſion of the territories of the Treverians, when from Civilis and Claſſicus there came letters to Cerialis, and in ſubſtance contained, ‘ That Veſpaſian was ‘ certainly dead, though the couriers ſuppreſſed the ‘ tidings of his death. With inteſtine war Italy ‘ and Rome were utterly conſumed Mucianus ‘ and Domitian were only names, utterly vain and ‘ deſtitute of ſtrength. Now were Cerialis diſpoſed ‘ to aſſume to himſelf the Empire of the Gauls, ‘ they declared themſelves content with the extent ‘ and bounds of their own State. But if to ſuch ‘ a propoſal he preferred a battle, neither was that ‘ what they declined.’ To Civilis and Claſſicus he returned no anſwer. Him who brought the letters he ſent to Domitian. From all quarters the enemy advanced in parties. Many cenſured Cerialis for ſuffering them to join, when he might have ſurprized and routed them piecemeal. The Roman Army encloſed their Camp with a trench and rampart; for at firſt they had encamped without any defence.

In the German hoſt were found oppoſite opinions and debate. Civilis judged ‘ it neceſſary to await ‘ the arrival of the nations beyond the Rhine: ‘ Through dread of theſe the Roman forces would ‘ be ſtruck with diſmay and trodden under foot. ‘ Of the Gauls what other account could be made, ‘ but that they would be the ſure prey of the conquerors? Yet the Belgians, who are the ſtrength ‘ of the Gauls, eſpouſe us openly, at leaſt favour ‘ us in their hearts.’ Tutor maintained, ‘ That ‘ by procraſtination and time the power of the ‘ Romans would increaſe, as their armies were aſ- ‘ ſembling from all parts. From Britain a Legion ‘ was tranſported; from Spain there were Legions ‘ called; out of Italy the Legions were already ad- ‘ vancing:

'vancing: Forces not haſtily levied, but old ſoldiers trained in war. The Germans, whoſe coming they themſelves hoped, were people ſubject to no authority, no diſcipline or management; but guided in all things by their own headſtrong humour. Of money and preſents, by which only they were to be corrupted, the Romans had far the greater ſtore; nor was any man ſo addicted to arms, as not to chuſe repoſe rather than danger, where the wages were equal. Now were a battle forthwith to enſue, Cerialis had no Legions to ſupport him, ſave ſuch as remained of the German army, and had ſtood engaged in a confederacy with the Gauls. Even their ſucceſs in routing, beyond their own hopes, the tumultuous band led by Valentinus, was an incentive to their temerity and that of their Leader. Again they would aſſuredly venture, and thus fall into the hands, not of a youth void of experience, rather exerciſed in words and in animating popular aſſemblies, than in weapons and war, but into the hands of Civilis, the hands of Claſſicus. At the ſight of theſe Chiefs, their former terrors would repoſſeſs their ſouls, their former flight and defeats, their former famine and miſeries, with the ſad reflection how often they had been taken captive, how often holden their lives at the mercy of theſe their conquerors. Neither were the Treverians or the Lingones ſtaid by choice or affection to the Romans: They were ready to reſume their arms as ſoon as their preſent fear was removed.' Claſſicus ended the conteſt by approving the counſel of Tutor, and inſtantly they purſued it.

In arraying their army, to the Ubians and Lingones the center was aſſigned. Upon the right wing were poſted the Batavian Cohorts; upon the left

left the Bructerians and Tencterians. To the assault they proceeded with such suddenness and rapidity, part descending from the hills, others passing between the highway and the river Moselle, that Cerialis whilst yet in his chamber, nay, in his bed (for he passed not the night in the Camp) had at the same time an account of the encounter, and of the defeat of his men. Whilst he continued reproaching the timidity of such as brought it, the general havock and rout appeared manifest to his sight. The entrenchments of the Legions were forced, the horse put to flight, the bridge of communication over the Moselle, in the middle of the City, seized by the enemy. Cerialis, undaunted by all this confusion and distress, with his own hand staying and rallying the fugitives, daring and active, though void of armour, amidst swords and darts, by a happy temerity and the accession of all who were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge and secured it by a guard of chosen men. Anon returning to the Camp, flying and dispersed he found the companies of the Legions which had been taken at Novesium and Bonn, found the soldiers thin about their standards, and the Eagles nigh surrounded with enemies. Fired with wrath, 'It is 'not Flaccus, said he, it is not Vocula that you 'are deserting. Against me you have no treason to 'charge; nor in my conduct is there ought that 'needs to be excused, save my credulity in trusting 'that you had forgot your late alliance with the 'Gauls, and again recalled and held fast your natural fealty to Rome. It will be my lot to be ranked 'with such as Numisius and Herennius; so that of 'all your Generals not one might escape falling by 'the hands of his own soldiers, or by the hand of 'the enemy. Go, and acquaint Vespasian, or, 'which is nearer, go and acquaint Civilis and 'Classicus,

'Classicus, that in the field of battle you relin-
'quished your Leader. The Legions are coming,
'they who will not suffer me to perish unrevenged,
'nor you to go unpunished.'

Very true were all these charges, and by the Tribunes and Captains the like were urged. They made head by single Cohorts, and small companies; for, they could not possibly extend their line, since the enemy every where poured in, and as they fought within the trenches, the tents and baggage proved notable obstructions. Tutor, and Classicus, and Civilis, each in his station were all busy animating the fight. The Gauls they prompted by the temptation of liberty, the Batavians by that of glory, the Germans by the allurements of spoil. In truth, to favour the enemy every thing conspired, till the one and twentieth Legion, finding a larger space, and embattling themselves in close array stood the shock of the foe, and anon repulsed them. Nor without influence divine did it happen, that they who were conquerors so suddenly changed their minds, lost their courage, and turned their backs. They themselves declared, that they were dismayed at the sight of the Cohorts, which at the first onset had been routed, but rejoining afterwards upon the tops of the hills, carried the appearance of so many fresh succours. But what marred their victory was a wayward contest amongst themselves about the booty, to pursue which they quitted their enemies. As Cerialis had by his negligence nigh ruined the cause, so by his vigour and bravery he restored it, and pursuing his good fortune, on that very day took the enemy's camp and razed it.

Nor to the soldiers was long space allowed for repose. The people of Cologn besought aid, and offered to deliver up the wife of Civilis and his sister, with the son of Classicus, all pledges left with

with them to bind their mutual ſtipulations. In the interval they ſlaughtered all the Germans living amongſt them and diſperſed in their houſes. Hence their dread and juſt petitions for protection, ere the enemy had recruited their forces and were prepared to engage in freſh deſigns, or at leaſt to execute their vengeance. For, Civilis too was bent upon proceeding thither furniſhed with no contemptible force, as confiding in a Cohort which he thought yet intire and the moſt reſolute of all the reſt, namely that compoſed of Chaucians and Friſians, and quartered at Tolbiacum in the territories of Cologn. But he changed his purpoſe upon ſad tidings, that by the fraud of the people of Cologn the Cohort was deſtroyed; for the former having largely feaſted the Germans, and when drunk and aſleep, ſhut them in, ſet fire to their dwellings, and burnt them alive. At the ſame time Cerialis, by a haſty march, was come to protect that State. Another terror too beſet Civilis, leſt the fourteenth Legion, in conjunction with the fleet from Britain, ſhould diſtreſs the Batavians, by devaſtations upon their ſea coaſts. But this Legion Fabius Priſcus, its Commander, led by land into the territories of the Nervians and Tungrians, and theſe two States were taken under the Roman protection. Upon the fleet the Caninefates, without ſtaying for an aſſault, made one; and the greater part of the ſhips were ſunk or ſeized. Moreover, a large multitude of the Nervians, who of their own accord had taken arms in the defence of the Romans, were routed by the ſame Caninefates. Claſſicus too had a ſucceſsful encounter with the horſemen ſent forward by Cerialis to Noveſium: Diſaſters which, however inconſiderable, yet by being frequent and ſucceſſive, impaired the credit and renown of the victory lately obtained.

During

During these days Mucianus ordered the son of Vitellius to be slain. He pretended, that civil discord would never cease, unless the seeds of war were crushed and extinguished. Nor would he suffer Antonius Primus to attend Domitian in the concerted expedition; such pain and jealousy he felt from the love of the soldiers to Antonius, as well as from the arrogance of the man, one so far from bearing a superior, that he could not bear even his equals. Thus Antonius retired and proceeded to Vespasian, where he was received, as not suitable to his own hopes, so without any ill countenance or sourness from the Emperor. The mind of Vespasian was under a conflict, on one side swayed by the great services of Antonius, by whose military conduct the war was unquestionably accomplished, on the other by letters from Mucianus. All the rest at the same time combining to disgrace him charged him with a pestilent spirit, swoln with pride, and overbearing; and, to heighten the charge, added the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to invite enmities by his contumacious carriage; for with excessive ostentation he was wont to recount his exploits and deserts. The other Commanders he treated with despight, particularly Cæcina, as a captive, a mean spirit that had tamely surrendered. Hence by degrees he sunk in his character and estimation, yet from the Emperor still retained the face and appearance of friendship.

During the months which Vespasian passed at Alexandria, awaiting a safe passage from the gentle weather returning with the summer, many miracles were wrought, whence was signified to Vespasian celestial favour, with the concurrence and designation of the Deities. A certain man of Alexandria, one of the commonalty, noted for want of sight, prostrating himself at his feet implored a cure for his

his blindneſs, by premonition from Serapis, the God whom that nation, devoted to ſuperſtition, adores beyond all others. He beſought the Emperor, 'That with his ſpittle he would condeſcend to 'waſh his cheeks and the balls of his eyes.' Another, lame in his hand, at the direction of the ſame God, prayed him to tread upon it. Veſpaſian at firſt derided and refuſed them. As they continued importunate, he wavered: Now he feared the character and imputation of vanity, anon was drawn into hopes through the intreaties of the ſupplicants, and the arguments of flatterers. At laſt he ordered the phyſicians to examine whether ſuch blindneſs and ſuch lameneſs were curable by human aid. The phyſicians reaſoned doubtfully: 'In this man 'the power of ſight was not wholly extinct, and 'would return, were the obſtacles removed. The 'other man's joints were diſtorted, and might be 'reſtored with regular preſſure and ſtraining. To 'the Gods perhaps the cure was well pleaſing, and 'by them the Emperor was ordained the divine inſtrument to accompliſh it. To conclude, from 'the ſucceſs of the remedy the glory would accrue 'to the Prince. If it failed, the wretches themſelves muſt bear the deriſion.' Veſpaſian therefore conceiving that within the reach of his fortune all things lay, and that nothing was any longer incredible, performed the taſk with a chearful countenance, before a multitude intent upon the iſſue. Inſtantly the lame hand recovered full ſtrength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. Both events thoſe who were preſent continue even now to recount, when from falſification any gain is no longer to be hoped.

Hence Veſpaſian was ſeized with a paſſion more profound for viſiting the reſidence of the Deity, to conſult him about the ſtate and fortune of the Empire.

pire. He commanded all men to retire from the Temple, and then entered himself. Whilst he was there intent upon contemplating the Deity, behind his own back he perceived one of the Grandees of Ægypt named Basilides, one whom he knew to be then distant many days journeys from Alexandria, and by sickness confined. He examined the priests, whether Basilides had that day entered the Temple: He asked such as he met, whether he had been seen in the City. Then by horsemen purposely dispatched, he fully learnt, that he was at that instant eighty miles from thence. He then understood the vision to be divine, and from the name of Basilides inferred an effectual answer.

Concerning the original of this Deity the Roman writers are hitherto silent. The archpriests of Ægypt thus recount it; 'That when King 'Ptolemy, the first Macedonian who settled the 'Ægyptian State, had with walls fortified Alexandria then lately built, in it reared a Temple, 'and instituted religious rites, there appeared to 'him in his sleep a young man of signal beauty, 'in stature more than human, who admonished him 'to dispatch into Pontus some of his most trusty 'friends, thence to bring away his Statue; for that 'fortunate to his kingdom it would prove, and 'mighty and glorious would be the city which entertained it: That the young man having thus 'once appeared, mounted up into heaven in a huge 'blaze of fire.' Ptolemy, struck with the augury and miraculous apparition, discovered this his nightly vision to the Ægyptian priests, whose profession it is to be skilled in things of this sort. But as they appeared to be ignorant of Pontus and of all things foreign, he had recourse to Timotheus the Athenian, of the race of the Eumolpides, one whom he had sent for from Eleusis, to preside in the administration

miniſtration of things ſacred. Him he aſked what kind of ſuperſtition this might be, and who that ſame Deity? Timotheus informing himſelf by ſuch as had frequently paſſed into Pontus, learnt that the City of Sinope ſtood there, and not far from it a Temple of ancient renown amongſt the natives, that of the *Infernal Jupiter*, for that by him ſtood alſo a feminine Statue by many called *Proſerpina*. But Ptolemy who, ſuitably to the ſpirit of Kings, was very ſubject to dread, as ſoon as he had reſumed his former ſecurity, more bent upon feats of pleaſure than thoſe of religion, came by degrees to neglect the purſuit, and to apply his mind to other cares; till the ſame apparition, now more terrible and urging, denounced certain perdition to his perſon and monarchy, if its orders were not executed. He then directed Embaſſadors and rich gifts to be diſpatched to Scydrothemis, who then reigned in Sinope, with orders when they were ready to ſail, to repair to the Oracle of the Pythian Apollo. Calm and favourable they found the ſea, and the anſwer of the God void of ambiguity; 'That they ſhould 'proceed, and with them carry home the Image 'of his father, but leave behind that of his ſiſter.'

Upon their arrival at Sinope, to Scydrothemis they preſented their gifts, their ſuit, and the inſtructions from their King. The Prince of Sinope found himſelf under different agitations of ſpirit. Now he dreaded to offend the Deity, anon was frightened by the menaces of the people oppoſing the removal of his Statue; and frequently moved by the preſents and promiſes of the Embaſſadors, he was diſpoſed to comply. In this negotiation three years were ſpent; for Ptolemy ſpared no intreaties, nor cooled in his zeal; he augmented the number and dignity of the Embaſſadors, increaſed the ſhips, and added freſh ſtore of gold. To Scydrothemis then

then appeared a ſpectre direful and threatning, warning him, 'no longer to retard what the Deity 'had determined.' Upon him, whilſt he ſtill lingered, there fell calamities manifold, and ſore diſeaſes, with the vengeance of the offended Deities manifeſtly purſuing him and proving every day more and more ſevere. Having called a popular aſſembly, he explained to them 'the injunctions of the 'God, his own viſion with thoſe of Ptolemy, and 'the fearful evils which were impending.' The commonalty oppoſed the King. They envied Ægypt ſuch an acquiſition, apprehending evil conſequences to themſelves, and tumultuouſly encompaſſed the Temple. Hence common fame heightening the marvel, has recounted, 'That the God 'of his own motion, and without help, conveyed 'himſelf into the ſhips lying cloſe to the ſhore.' Inſomuch that, what is prodigious to be told, on the third day after, they arrived at Alexandria; in ſo ſhort a ſpace had they traverſed ſuch an immenſe tract of ſea! A Temple was reared ſuitable to the greatneſs of the City, in a place called Rhacotis. There a Chapel had ſtood, dedicated of old to *Serapis* and *Iſis*. Theſe are the traditions of moſt renown concerning the origin and tranſportation of the God. Neither am I unapprized of what is aſſerted by ſome, that he was brought from Seleucia a City of Syria, in the reign of Ptolemy the third; or by others, that the ſame Ptolemy cauſed him to be removed, but that the removal was from Memphis, a City once very celebrated, the head and glory of ancient Ægypt. The God himſelf many conjecture to be Æſculapius, for that by him the ſick are healed. Some take him to be Oſiris, a Deity of the higheſt antiquity amongſt theſe nations. Many think him Jupiter, as accounted the Almighty diſpoſer of all things.

Moſt

Moſt of all imagine, that he is old Pluto, either from apparent tokens and indications about him, or from gueſſes and inferences of their own.

Now Domitian and Mucianus, ere they reached the Alps, received tydings of the ſucceſsful feats againſt the Treverians. What proved the chief confirmation of the victory was the captivity of Valentinus the enemy's General, who with a ſoul no wiſe caſt down, by his countenance declared the intrepidity and defiance with which he had acted. If he was heard in his own vindication, it was only for curioſity, to diſcover the ſpirit of the man. He was therefore condemned: But even under the hands of the executioner, when one upbraided him that his country was taken, he replied, 'That he therefore 'embraced death as a conſolation and relief.' What Mucianus had long purpoſed and concealed, he now communicated as no more than his immediate ſentiments upon the preſent ſituation, 'That 'ſince by the benignity of the Gods the forces of 'the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would 'Domitian proceed, now the war was nigh con-'cluded, and intercept the glory due to another: 'Indeed were the Empire threatened with peril, 'or were the Gauls in general expoſed to danger, 'it behoved the Emperor's ſon to venture his per-'ſon in battle. To contend with the Caninefates 'and Batavians ſmaller Leaders were to be aſſigned. 'Let Domitian retire to Lyons, and from thence 'diſplay the power and fortune of the Empire at 'hand, neither engaging in diminutive hazards, 'nor failing to meet ſuch as were greater.' Theſe his artifices were well underſtood; but here, in a good meaſure, depended the merit of obeying, that they were not to ſeem diſcovered. Thus they came to Lyons. From thence Domitian is believed to have tried, by ſecret inter-agents, to corrupt the fidelity

fidelity of Cerialis, and propoſed whether he would commit into his hands the Army and Empire, if he came in perſon. Uncertain it remained what deſigns poſſeſſed him, whether he meditated a war againſt his father, or to arm himſelf with power and forces againſt his brother. For by ſage management and evaſions Cerialis eluded his ſuit, as that of one who with a childiſh fondneſs longed for things wild and vain. Domitian perceiving that the elder men deſpiſed his youth, began to relinquiſh all functions of government, even the ſmalleſt, and ſuch as he was wont to diſpenſe Under the guiſe of ſimplicity and an humble mind, he buried himſelf in ſolitude, feigning a zeal for learning and the love of poetry, thence to conceal his paſſions, and to eſcape the jealouſy of his brother, upon whoſe gentler nature, ſo different from his own, he put a contrary and malevolent conſtruction.

The End of the Third Volume.